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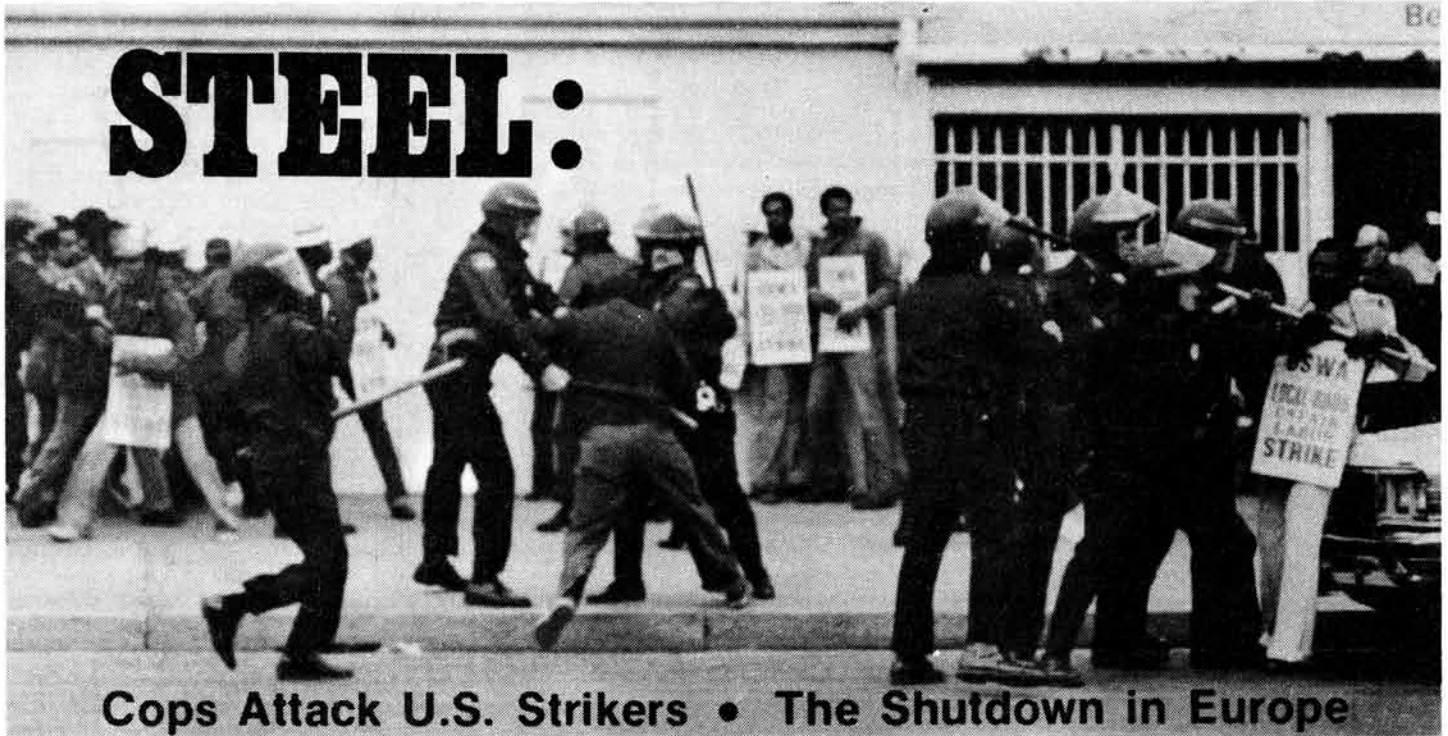
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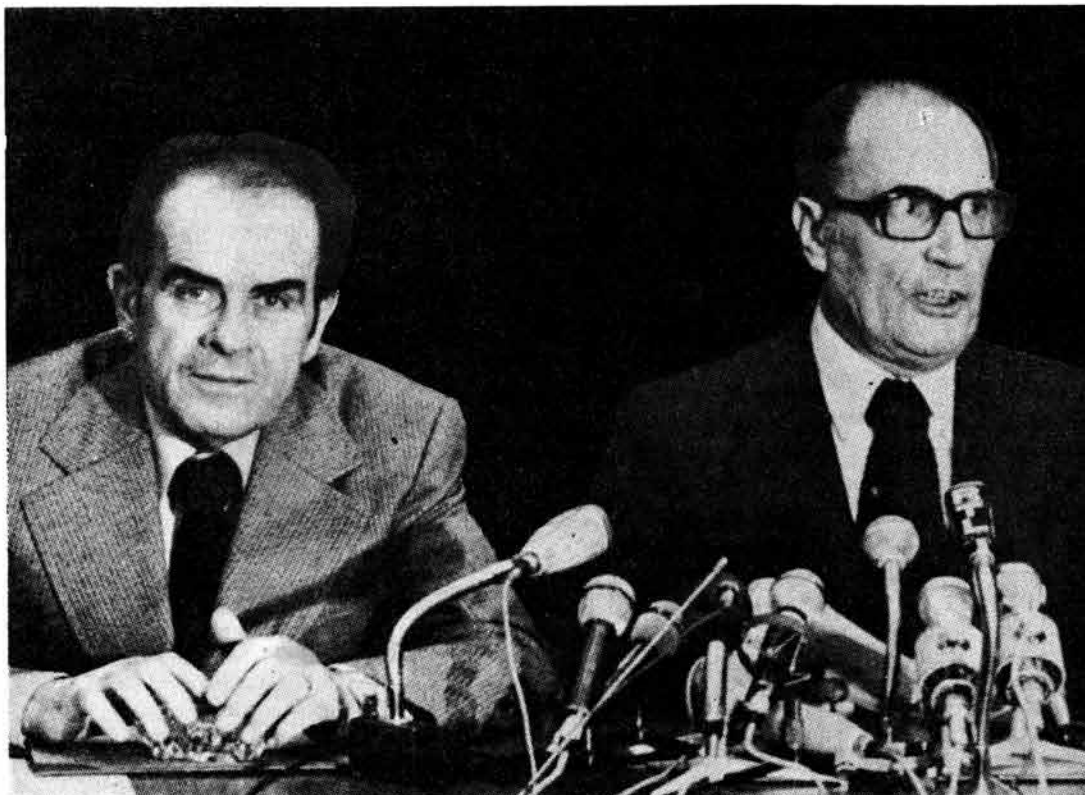
April 30, 1979

USA 75¢

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Cops Attack U.S. Strikers • The Shutdown in Europe



CP leader Marchais and SP leader Mitterrand.

**Pierre
Frank
Analyzes
French CP
and SP
Congresses**

NEWS ANALYSIS

Peru Security Police Raid Trotskyist Headquarters

By Fred Murphy

The Peruvian military dictatorship has launched an ominous new attack on the Trotskyist movement.

On April 22, State Security agents acting on the orders of the Ministry of the Interior raided the downtown Lima headquarters of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

Thirty-one PST members attending a meeting at the headquarters were taken to the State Security detention center, where they were beaten and interrogated. All are being held incommunicado. The cops also jailed six children who were with their parents at the PST offices.

Among those being held are PST General Secretary Juan Villa and two members of the PST's Executive Committee, Carlos Delgado and Fernando Gutiérrez.

Villa is also a member of the National Executive Committee of the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP), and Delgado is the organization secretary of the FOCEP's Lima branch. (The FOCEP is a bloc of Trotskyist parties and independent socialists that was formed before last year's Constituent Assembly elections.)

The Ministry of the Interior did not acknowledge the raid and the arrests until the following day, and then would say only that they had been carried out because of the PST's "subversive activities." As of April 23, no charges had been filed against any of the detainees.

One goal of the regime's attack on the PST undoubtedly is to disrupt the unification process now underway among revolutionary socialists in Peru. In recent weeks the PST has been preparing to fuse with the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), also a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. One of the PRT's central leaders is Hugo Blanco, a FOCEP deputy in the Constituent Assembly and the most well-known and popular figure on the Peruvian left.

The raid on the PST's headquarters is the most serious step to date in the Peruvian military regime's ongoing campaign of slander and harassment against the Trotskyist movement. Hugo Blanco has repeatedly been the target of vile attacks in the government-controlled press. Last September, Blanco narrowly escaped a kidnapping attempt after a meeting at the PST's headquarters. Two PST members

and a visiting Colombian Trotskyist journalist were abducted in that attack by the "Peruvian Anticommunist Alliance"—a shadowy outfit widely suspected of links to the military intelligence apparatus.

The third major Peruvian Trotskyist group, the Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party (POMR),* is also under attack by the regime. FOCEP deputy and POMR leader

* Peruvian affiliate of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Spain—Trotskyists Win 26 City Council Seats

By Will Reissner

The Spanish workers movement made impressive gains in the April 3 municipal elections, the first nationwide local elections in Spain since 1931. Socialists and Communists won control of city councils in most of the country's large cities, and the Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria won at least twenty-six seats.

The vote of the two major workers parties increased by about 3% over the results of the parliamentary elections held on March 1—from about 40% to 43%. In addition, regional and nationalist parties continued to gain in the Basque country, the Canary Islands, Andalusia, and Galicia.

In the Basque country the moderate PNV (Basque Nationalist Party) won the largest share of votes and Herri Batasuna, a coalition supporting the outlawed separatist ETA, won 260 council seats.

The Spanish Trotskyists made considerable gains over their vote total in the parliamentary elections. In addition to the election of twenty-six municipal council members, at least one LCR candidate was elected mayor. The results of several other seats and one mayoralty in the Basque province of Vizcaya remain in doubt at

Zimbabwe—'Elections' at Gunpoint

By Ernest Harsch

On the first day of the five-day elections that began April 17, about 500 Black students at the University of Rhodesia in Salisbury openly demonstrated to denounce the elections as a sham. With placards and clenched-fist salutes, they expressed their defiance of Ian Smith's

Hernán Cuentas is in danger of losing his parliamentary immunity and being prosecuted by the dictatorship because of his support to a strike by 4,600 copper miners in southern Peru in late March. POMR leader Humberto Chaparro and about sixty other miners are currently in jail in Lima awaiting charges for their role in leading the strike, which was crushed after the regime sent heavily armed troops into the mining districts.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) is urging that telegrams or letters demanding the immediate release of the thirty-one jailed members of the PST and their children, the dropping of charges against Hernán Cuentas, and the release of Humberto Chaparro and the miners leaders be sent to Peruvian embassies or to Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez, Presidente de la República, Palacio Presidencial, Lima, Peru. □

this time.

Most of the Trotskyist victories came in the Basque country. There the LCR elected fourteen council members in the province of Vizcaya, four in Navarra, three in Guipúzcoa, and one in Alava. They also won two positions in the province of Barcelona, and one each in Huelva and Zaragoza.

Combate, the LCR's weekly, called the results "a significant step forward for our party." The LCR has proposed that the workers parties join together in a municipal pact. Among the provisions of this pact would be:

- Expansion of democratic rights. This includes the rights of municipal workers to join unions and the establishment of elected local councils in all cities over 100,000 in population.

- A crash program of public works to fight unemployment and provide much needed housing and social services in working-class neighborhoods.

- A campaign to overturn the present laws on municipal funding, which make it possible for the central government to financially strangle the municipalities where workers parties won control. □

attempts to intimidate Blacks opposed to the regime.

In an especially bold act, one protester carried a large sign that read, "Cuba, save our souls and stop the rot."

It was that demonstration—and not the elections going on at the same time—that

represented the struggle of the oppressed Zimbabwean masses for independence, Black majority rule, and social progress.

The elections were, in fact, part of the regime's last-ditch effort to block that struggle and to safeguard white privilege and capitalist rule.

Based on a constitution that no authentic representatives of the Black majority had a hand in drafting, the elections gave a disproportionately large influence to the white electorate, each of whose votes in effect carried nine times the weight of a Black vote. Although whites are only 4 percent of the total population, they will receive 28 percent of the seats in Parliament and a similar percentage of cabinet posts.

Excluded from the ballot, moreover, were those Zimbabwean groups that actively oppose the regime, most notably the Zimbabwe African National Union and Zimbabwe African People's Union, which are allied within the Patriotic Front.

The regime that is slated to emerge from the elections will have a formal Black majority, but whites will continue to dominate the police, army, civil service, judiciary, and economy.

The government, as part of its drive to herd Blacks into the polling booths, carefully avoided explaining these details of the constitutional pact to Black voters. The Black members of the regime—especially Abel Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole—sought to hoodwink Blacks into believing that the elections would lead to "peace" and real Black majority rule.

The government also took extensive steps to ensure that Blacks who were not convinced by such claims would go to the polls anyway. Some 100,000 troops were mobilized throughout the country in a massive display of force designed to intimidate Blacks into voting. Many employers and farm owners ordered Blacks working for them to cast ballots. Government-paid tribal chiefs in rural areas urged villagers to do likewise. The military wings of Muzorewa's and Sithole's parties, which function as auxiliaries to the regular armed forces, terrorized Blacks in both the cities and the countryside to turn out for the elections.

Shortly before voting began, the police arrested more than 900 Blacks in Bulawayo, the country's second largest city, reportedly because they tried to organize a campaign to get Blacks to spoil their ballots. The message was clear: anyone opposing the elections could face similar reprisals.

In addition, there have been reports of vote rigging in some areas, with claimed voter turnouts higher than the officially estimated number of voters.

Those repressive measures have taken place in the context of the regime's widening war against the Zimbabwean freedom struggle, which has included frequent

raids against Zimbabwean refugee and guerrilla camps in nearby countries. The most recent such attack, on April 11, left 136 persons dead and 200 wounded near Solwezi, in Zambia.

While playing down the undemocratic nature of the elections, the Rhodesian authorities and their imperialist backers

will try to use the claimed 64 percent turnout of Black voters to portray the elections as "fair" and to use them as a cover for increased assistance to the Salisbury regime from the American, British, and South African governments. Such backing would represent a serious threat to the Zimbabwean freedom struggle. □

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Right-Wing Guerrillas Step Up Offensive in Afghanistan

By Ernest Harsch

In response to the deepening revolution in Afghanistan, as well as in neighboring Iran, rightist guerrillas have sharply stepped up armed actions against the Afghan regime in recent weeks. Their drive, cloaked in the guise of "Islamic fundamentalism," is aimed at rolling back the agrarian reform and other progressive measures being carried out by the regime of Nour Mohammad Taraki under pressure from the aroused Afghan workers and peasants.

The military officers and Islamic religious figures leading this reactionary offensive have received support from the Pakistani military dictatorship and the main power behind it—American imperialism.

The guerrillas operate from bases in Pakistan. Following a visit to four such camps, *New York Times* correspondent Robert Trumbull reported in the April 16 issue that the "nerve center" of the guerrilla operations was in Miram Shah, in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province (NWFP).

More than two months earlier, *Washington Post* reporter Peter Niesewand visited a guerrilla camp in the NWFP, where forces of the Hezb-i Islami (Islamic Party) were undergoing training at a former Pakistani military base. "The camp, freshly painted, still contains some Pakistani Army vehicles and is under the guard of Pakistani soldiers," he reported in the February 2 issue. "The Pakistanis, therefore, are clearly aware of any activity on the base."

According to a former major in the Afghan army, about 2,000 troops were being trained in various camps in Pakistan.

Although there are a number of rightist groups opposed to the Taraki regime, the two largest are the Hezb-i Islami and the Jamiat-i Islami (Islamic Brotherhood). The former favors the restoration of the monarchy, which was overthrown in 1973, and the latter has close ties to the Jamiat-i Islami of Pakistan, the major party supporting Pakistan's military dictator, Gen. Zia ul-Haq.

These rightist forces have also received political backing from Ayatollah Kazem Shareatmadary and other Islamic religious figures in Iran, who accuse the "Communist" and "atheist" Taraki regime of repressing Muslims. This is part of their campaign to discredit socialism among the Iranian masses, blunt the impact of the Iranian revolution in Afghanistan, and

block the tendency of the two revolutions to link up and reinforce each other.

The Soviet government, which provides substantial assistance to the Taraki regime, charged in March that a leader of the Afghan rebel forces met with top American officials and that the CIA was indirectly aiding the guerrillas.

Washington, while formally denying the charges, has made little secret of its desire to roll back the gains being won by the Afghan masses.

In June 1978, just two months after the coup that brought Taraki to power, more than 270 top government officials and military officers gathered at the NATO Atlantic Command at Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss the threat posed to imperialist interests by the prospect of deepening social ferment in Afghanistan. This February, the Carter administration slashed its economic aid to Kabul by more than two-thirds.

An article in the March 2 *Wall Street Journal* underlined the hopes that the imperialists are placing in the rightist guerrilla forces: "The large-scale opposition in Afghanistan provides the anti-Soviet forces in the region and the world with an opportunity to increase significantly the price of expansionism for the Soviets and reduce the likelihood of the consolidation of a Cuban-style regime in a crucial part of the world."

Washington's fear of revolution in Afghanistan increased considerably following the April 27, 1978, coup that overthrew Mohammad Daud, who was killed in the fighting. Daud was ousted by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and by a section of the military influenced by the PDPA.

At that time, the PDPA included all of Afghanistan's pro-Moscow Stalinists, as well as a small non-Communist current. Its leaders admit that the overthrow of Daud came much sooner than they had expected. Under the impact of mass demonstrations in Kabul and in response to moves by Daud to launch a massive repression, the PDPA was impelled to seize power. Moscow, with which the PDPA had close ties, was taken by surprise.

Despite some initial overtures to the imperialist powers and despite assurances that private enterprise would be encouraged, the Taraki regime has initiated a series of far-reaching reforms.

The most important measures include the following:

- Legalization, for the first time, of

trade unions.

- Cancellation of all debts owed by peasants.

- An extensive land reform, initiated January 1, setting a ceiling on land ownership of about 15 acres. All surplus land is to be expropriated without compensation and distributed free to landless peasants and nomads. Out of a total of 680,000 families who stand to benefit from this aspect of the land reform, 50,000 already have, according to a report in the March 19 West German weekly *Der Spiegel*.

- Plans for a massive literacy drive, in a country where up to 95 percent of the population cannot read or write.

- Steps to improve the status of women, such as the banning of arranged marriages and limitation of dowries.

- Recognition of some of the national rights of Afghanistan's various peoples, including the establishment of education, radio programming, and newspapers in local languages. These measures could have an impact beyond Afghanistan's borders, especially since some of the nationalities spill over into Pakistan, Iran, and even the Soviet Union itself.

- Pledges to nationalize at least 51 percent of most enterprises.

- A purge of the state apparatus, including dismissal of most officers above the rank of major.

- The adoption of anti-imperialist stands on some international questions, including the call for Puerto Rico's independence from the United States.

Although the PDPA had a limited base of support when it seized power a year ago, these measures have won it increasing popularity.

A report from Kabul in the January 16 *Wall Street Journal* noted that when the regime changed the country's flag "more than 150,000 persons, one-third of Kabul's population, marched to honor the new flag on the day it was first unfurled. Similar demonstrations of support occurred in other cities. The marches were organized, but witnesses say the participants appeared genuinely enthusiastic."

The unfolding of the Afghan revolution has raised the hopes and expectations of the country's 20 million workers and peasants. As they mobilize to fulfill their aspirations, the masses will be propelled toward a complete overturn of capitalist property relations.

That is what the imperialists and their local allies fear above all else. That is what they are now attempting to head off. □

Thousands of Women Around World Demand Right to Choose

March 31, 1979, was the International Day of Action for the right to abortion and contraception and against forced sterilization. As a first step in building a campaign that can involve women and men worldwide, it was a success.

In the twenty-odd countries already formally represented in the mobilization launched eight months ago by the International Campaign for Abortion Rights (ICAR), tens of thousands of persons expressed their common determination on the same day to fight for women's right to choose. Street demonstrations and rallies were organized, as well as picket lines outside the embassies of countries where repression against women who have abortions is particularly severe.

Information is not yet available on the size of the demonstrations and gatherings that took place in a number of cities in Australia, in Auckland and elsewhere in New Zealand, or in Tel Aviv, Mexico City, the major cities in English Canada and Québec, Colombia, Peru, and Martinique.*

We know, however, that 1,000 persons attended the first proabortion meeting ever held in Venezuela, and that a big rally was held in Central Park in San José, Costa Rica, in the presence of newspaper and television reporters, to launch the campaign in that country. The efforts of the U.S. steering committee were rewarded with success, with demonstrations taking place in twenty-five cities, including in New York, where 5,000 persons turned out. In Denmark, a demonstration was held in front of the parliament building in Copenhagen, to demand access to information on the side effects of birth-control pills, nationalization of the pharmaceutical industry, and the right of users to research on contraceptive methods.

In the Netherlands, 6,000 to 7,000 persons took part in demonstrations orga-



G.M. Cookson/Socialist Challenge

Five thousand marched for abortion rights in London.

nized in three regions of the country by a group called "We Women Want."

In Britain, the demonstration of 5,000 in London included large contingents of Latin American women, as well as women from other European countries. The internationalist aspect of this day of action was shown by the fact that an Asian woman spoke at the final rally.

In Belgium, a colorful procession of about 7,000 persons, carrying green and purple balloons (ICAR's colors), marched through the streets of Brussels. Leading off the march were committees to decriminalize abortion and members of feminist groups from around the country, followed by large contingents of the SP and Socialist Youth, Communist Youth, and the Revolutionary Workers League, the Belgian section of the Fourth International.

In Switzerland, several hundred persons participated in a day of activities in Berne, organized by the national steering committee, and supported by the Women's Liberation Movement, various feminist groups, the SP, CP, and far-left organizations.

In Italy, in spite of large mobilizations in recent months against statements by the pope, the meetings organized in Rome and Milan drew only a few hundred. But the participation of the Union of Italian Women (associated with the CP) in the rally called by members of the Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International, in Turin, was an encouraging sign.

In France, as in Italy, the turnout was small. Several meetings, rallies, and massive leaflet distributions were organized in Paris, Lyons, Rouen, and Montpellier, among others. One of the most interesting

actions took place in Le Havre, where women's groups, the French Family Planning Movement, the teachers union, some locals of the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the SP, the United Socialist Party, and the Revolutionary Communist League called a demonstration that brought out 700 persons, and was followed by a rally in the evening.

In Spain, the rallies called by the feminist steering committees of Madrid and Barcelona each drew nearly 1,000 persons.

In Seville, 300 persons, and all the organizations that had been invited—the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, the CP, Revolutionary Communist League, Communist Movement of Spain, Red Flag, and Workers Party of Marxist Unification (POUM), responded to the call of the local women's movement to discuss the situation and the kind of campaign that needs to be launched in Spain. Some speakers reminded the PSOE and CP that in spite of their fine words, they had scarcely been heard defending women's right to abortion during the election campaign. There was broad condemnation of the incredible repression that exists in Spain, where women can be sentenced to up to twelve years in prison for having an abortion.

In Luxembourg, the Women's Liberation Movement organized a picket line outside the Spanish embassy to protest these extremely repressive measures. The ambassador, having been notified, made sure to give one of the women present an official telegram direct from Madrid, which stated that "according to the figures provided by the Ministry of Justice," there were "only" sixteen women in prison for having had abortions. □

*The April 5-12 issue of the Australian Trotskyist weekly *Direct Action* reports that 600 to 700 persons took part in demonstrations in Melbourne and an equal number in Sydney. Smaller demonstrations were held in Newcastle, Brisbane, Adelaide, and Perth.

In Auckland, 400 persons attended a rally at the university and later staged a march through the city's downtown area, according to the April 6 issue of *Socialist Action*, the New Zealand Trotskyist weekly. Campus forums were also held in Christchurch and Wellington.

In Montréal, 2,000 women demonstrated, according to the April 9 *Socialist Voice*. This was one of the biggest actions for abortion rights ever held in Canada or Québec. Rallies and demonstrations were also held in Toronto and Edmonton.—IP/I

Colombia Human-Rights Tribunal Puts Turbay on Defensive

By Miguel Fuentes

BOGOTA—The "National Forum for Defense of Human Rights" ended here April 1 with a public rally attended by more than 3,500 persons.

During the two previous days, more than 1,500 delegates held working sessions in Colombia's capitol building. They heard extensive evidence on the Turbay government's growing campaign of repression and torture against the left and the labor movement, and discussed how to wage a fight against it.

At the forum's closing rally, Tulio Cuevas Romero of the National Trade-Union Council (CNS)¹ launched a call for a united national mobilization on May 1 by labor and its allies. This will be the next step in the struggle against President Turbay's policies of repression and austerity.

Turbay vs. Labor Movement

Ever since the citizens' national general strike (*paro cívico nacional*) of September 14, 1977, the trade unions and the left have been the target of a repressive drive aimed at heading off another such upsurge. That strike demanded wage increases and political and trade-union rights; it was accompanied by big demonstrations and violent clashes with the repressive forces in the poor neighborhoods of Bogotá and other cities.

During his 1978 presidential campaign, Liberal Party candidate Julio César Turbay Ayala called for "public security" and a war against "crime and subversion." He lumped rural and urban guerrilla movements with drug trafficking and the increasingly lucrative private enterprise of kidnapping for ransom. In this way Turbay hoped to gain public acceptance for increased repression.

One month after taking office, Turbay invoked the "Security Statute," which allows detention without charge for ten days, transfers jurisdiction over "political crimes" from civil to military courts, and declares "public disorder," "rebellion," and "subversive propaganda" to be crimes punishable with one to four years imprisonment. Turbay also pushed through new restrictions on the right to organize and strike, ordered greater militarization of rural zones, began to impose press censor-

ship, and gave the military a green light to use torture.

The first well-documented evidence of torture came in the cases of thirty-four students arrested during demonstrations at the National University in Bogotá in October 1978.

On December 31, the urban guerrilla group M-19 claimed credit for the theft of a

The trade unions and the left have been the target of repression . . .

huge quantity of weapons from a military barracks. The regime used this as the pretext for jailing thousands of persons during subsequent months.

A pattern emerged of the detention of political and trade-union figures known to be *opposed* to terrorism and guerrillism. Most of those arrested were held for the ten days allowed under the Security Statute and then released, with a warning to halt their "subversive" activities. Many were tortured, or witnessed others being tortured. Under cover of a "war on terrorism," a government campaign was under way to terrorize and intimidate the labor movement and the left.

A response to the repression began to take shape. Human-rights organizations such as Amnesty International and the U.S. Council on Hemispheric Affairs, along with groups of Colombians living abroad, began to publicize the regime's attacks and organize telegram and letter-writing campaigns.

It became apparent that Colombia's rulers were divided on the methods being used against the left. For example, Bogotá's two main capitalist dailies—which both support the ruling Liberal Party—took opposite attitudes. *El Tiempo* took a hard line in support of the repression and denounced the opposition, while *El Espectador* featured articles on the protests and provided a running tally of letters and telegrams received.

The regime reacted with slanderous attacks on the Council on Hemispheric Affairs and sent official replies to letter-writers questioning their motives and knowledge of Colombia. *El Espectador* was cut off from receiving official news releases.

Forums Gain Broad Support

Inside the country, discussions began on

how to mount a response to the repression. This was made more difficult by a ban on demonstrations imposed under the Security Statute. But soon plans were set for a series of local and regional public forums on human rights, to culminate in the national forum that took place March 30-April 1.

Among those involved in planning and organizing these forums were the Communist Party, the Trotskyists of the PSR and PST,² the Firmes movement,³ and individual figures from Colombia's two main bourgeois parties, the Liberals and Conservatives.

There were some differences over orientation at the outset. The bourgeois politicians, echoed by the CP and Firmes, wanted a rather low-key pressure campaign by well-known personalities. But the Trotskyists pressed for an orientation to the labor movement with the goal of eventually mobilizing in the streets.

The deeper question involved was whether the repression simply represented "excesses" or was a central aspect of government policy. Who was the main target—the small guerrilla groups or the workers movement? And what was needed to stay Turbay's hand—a letter-writing and petition campaign, or a mobilization by labor?

The regime's actions on the one hand and the response of the trade unions on the other helped to settle the debate during the two months leading up to the national forum. Many of the more than 3,000 activists arrested were well-known trade-union leaders. Labor responded with active participation in the local and regional forums. By the time of the national forum almost the entire organized labor movement was involved and playing a prominent role.

More than 7,000 persons attended the local and regional forums held in more than twenty cities across Colombia. The largest were in Medellín (1,000), Bucaramanga (1,000), Barranquilla (2,000), and Bogotá (500). Several forums were organized directly by the unions. Representatives of 140 different labor organizations

2. Partido Socialista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Socialist Party); Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party). Both are sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International.

3. "Firmes" (Signatures) is an organization that arose out of a drive to collect 500,000 signatures on a petition urging a single candidate of "the left" in the June 1978 presidential elections.

1. The CNS is a coordinating body involving Colombia's four big union federations—the UTC, linked to the Conservative Party; the CSTC, controlled by the Communist Party; the CTC, linked to the Liberal Party; and the CGT, which orients to the Christian Democrats.

attended a February 2-3 forum in Barran-
cabermeja sponsored by the oil workers
unions USO and FEDEPETROL.

The government focused its repression
on forum organizers as the date for the
national gathering neared. Leaders of the
CP, PSR, and PST were arrested (see box).
In all, more than 100 activists were de-
tained in raids during the week before the
national forum.

The regime apparently felt it could not
ban the gathering outright, so it pointed to
the fact that it was being held as proof of
its respect for dissent and democratic
rights! Meanwhile, propaganda in the
capitalist press promoted Turbay's govern-
ment as the best defender of "human
rights" and painted guerrillas and their
"apologists" as the worst violators.

Turbay even hosted an International
Red Cross gathering in early March, and
delivered a ringing denunciation of torture
in his keynote address.

But the National Forum in Defense of
Human Rights dealt a big blow to Tur-
bay's pretensions.

The forum was a representative and
authoritative affair. Among the 1,554 dele-
gates were 472 representing 198 different
trade unions, including the top leaders of
all four labor federations. The remaining
delegates included 107 from peasant
groups, 117 from student organizations, 57
from professional groups, 43 from the
media, 9 from feminist groups, 75 from
political parties, 17 from church groups,
and 316 from the regional coalitions that
had helped to build the event. More than
200 prominent cinema, radio, and tele-
vision personalities participated, as did
representatives from four international
human-rights organizations.

Rights of 'Vast Majority' Violated

During the first two days, working com-
missions heard testimony and held discus-
sions on the following topics: torture and
maltreatment of political prisoners; mil-
itarization of peasant zones; restrictions
on the rights of labor and the public;
"crimes of opinion" and censorship of the
communications media; the prolonged

The relationship of forces is now shifting against the government . . .

state of siege and the Security Statute in
light of the constitution; social, economic,
and constitutional aspects of human rights
in Colombia; and others.

Of the voluminous testimony, none was
more damaging to the regime than that on
the use of torture. In a devastating rebuttal
to government denials issued earlier in the
week, official photos and documents from
the Institute for Legal Medicine were pre-
sented that conclusively proved the regime

González, Gallego Still Behind Bars

Two Colombian Trotskyists are
among those jailed during the Turbay
regime's campaign to disrupt the Na-
tional Forum for Defense of Human
Rights.

Libardo González Flores, a member of
the PSR Central Committee, was seized
at his home by the political police on
March 29. According to the PSR, Gon-
zález "is being tortured, both physically
and psychologically."

Gloria Stella Gallego, a member of
the PST's national office staff, was also
arrested during the week before the
national forum, along with her three
brothers and sisters.

Libardo González's situation is par-
ticularly serious, in that the progovern-
ment daily *El Tiempo* accused him on
March 31 of having been involved in

the September 1978 killing of ex-cabinet
minister Rafael Pardo Buelvas. A group
calling itself the Workers Self-Defense
Movement (MAO) claimed credit for
that assassination. *El Tiempo* called
the MAO "a group of Trotskyist orien-
tation" and presented a completely
fabricated account designed to link the
MAO to the Fourth International.

Telegrams and letters demanding the
release of González and Gallego, and all
the other political prisoners, should be
sent to Colombian embassies or to Julio
César Turbay Ayala, Presidente de
Colombia, Palacio de San Carlos, Bo-
gotá, Colombia. Copies should be sent
to *El Espectador*, Bogotá, Colombia,
and to the PSR's newspaper *Combate
Socialista*, Apartado Aereo 13750, Bo-
gotá, Colombia.

was lying when it had claimed not to have
tortured the thirty-four university students
in October.

Other findings substantiated charges
that Turbay's government had violated
freedom of the press by raiding the offices
of the CP weekly *Voz Proletaria* and the
PST weekly *El Socialista* and by arresting
six journalists; had denied due process of
law through military tribunals without
juries or adequate defense counsel; had
violated the right of labor to organize and
strike; had effectively made the holding of
certain opinions a crime; and had mas-
sively violated the rights of peasants with
military occupations of large sections of
the countryside.

In short, the forum concluded that the
government violates the human and demo-
cratic rights of "the vast majority of the
inhabitants" of the country.

These findings were summarized in the
"final declaration" adopted unanimously
by the delegates. The forum demanded an
end to torture; an end to arbitrary deten-
tion; an end to censorship; revocation of
the Security Statute; an end to restrictions
on the rights of the trade unions; and
economic justice.

The most important result of the forum
was the call by the National Trade-Union
Council (CNS) for a united May 1 mobiliza-
tion. This had been hotly debated in the
working commissions, where delegates
from the Liberal, Conservative, and Com-
munist parties tried unsuccessfully to get
the union leaders to withdraw it.

But CNS President Tulio Cuevas re-
ceived a resounding ovation when he an-
nounced the May 1 call at the concluding
rally. Arnulfo Bayona of the PSR and
Kemel George of the PST also received
sustained applause as they made the May

1 actions the focus of their speeches at the
rally.

It remains to be seen whether the union
leaderships will be under enough pressure
to make the May 1 actions an effective
show of labor's power. But the fact that
they have been called, and the fact that
the national forum was such a success,
means that the relationship of forces is
shifting against the government.

Colombian workers are showing their
willingness to fight back in other ways as
well. At the Paz del Río steel mill northeast
of Bogotá, 7,500 workers downed tools on
April 4 to demand a 75 percent wage hike.
This is the first work stoppage in the
thirty-year history of the company town of
Paz del Río. It is expected to shortly bring
the country's construction and metal in-
dustries to a total halt.

The workers of the state oil industry
ECOPETROL have also announced plans
for a strike, demanding higher wages and
reinstatement of workers fired in 1977.

The National Forum for Defense of
Rights did not in itself put a halt to the
repression—120 more "subversives" were
arrested in Bogotá alone during the week
after the forum. But the gathering was an
important beginning in mobilizing labor
and its allies against the regime's attacks.
The May 1 actions will be the next step.

April 9, 1979

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Steelworkers Block Cop Attack on Union Headquarters

[On January 31, Local 8888 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) struck the huge Newport News, Virginia, Shipbuilding and Drydock Company—the largest shipyard in the United States.

[At issue is the refusal of the shipyard's virulently antiunion owners, Tenneco, to recognize the USWA despite the fact that the majority of the yard's 15,500 production and maintenance workers voted in a government-certified election to make the USWA their union.

[As the strike entered its eleventh week April 13, a mass meeting of the strikers unanimously rejected the union leadership's proposal to suspend the strike and return to work on the company's terms—that is, by "reapplying" at the personnel office. They voted instead to continue the strike for another week, and then to simply return to their old jobs rather than submit to company screening.

[The following Monday, April 16, picket lines swelled. The bosses responded with a vicious police attack on both the pickets and Local 8888's headquarters. The following account of the police riot and the Steelworkers' courageous response was compiled by a team of on-the-spot reporters consisting of John Hawkins, Jon Hillson, Tom Leonard, Omari Musa, Andy Rose, and Nancy Schwalb. It has been excerpted from the April 27 *Militant*.]

* * *

NEWPORT NEWS, Virginia—A bloody, antilabor state of siege gripped Newport News on Monday, April 16, as state and local cops rampaged down city streets, attacking Steelworker pickets and trying to storm Local 8888's strike headquarters.

At least thirty Steelworkers required hospital treatment. At least sixty-three strikers were arrested.

Many of the Steelworkers were injured when Newport News cops smashed into the front entrance of the union's strike offices. It was here also that the police apparently sustained most of their injuries, as Steelworkers stopped the cops short in their effort to break up the local's headquarters.

The police violence has not checked the fighting spirit of the Steelworkers.

Scores of strikers—including men and women injured and arrested during the cop riot—returned to the picket lines within hours.

Hundreds were on the lines again just after dawn on Tuesday, April 17, in a chanting, militant display of the union's refusal to be intimidated.

The pickets were flanked Tuesday by a

massive display of force by city and state cops, who cracked open the head of one striker in the afternoon. But there was no repeat of Monday's cop riot.

"I thought this was a free country," Local 8888 President Wayne Crosby told the *Militant*. The police, he said, "remind me of a bunch of nazis."

"If anything, what the police did has strengthened our determination," Crosby said.

Real Lawbreakers

This is how the Newport News and Virginia state "guardians of order" acted as lawbreakers and strikebreakers for Tenneco on April 16:

Hundreds of Steelworkers fanned out in picket lines at 5 a.m. on April 16, an hour earlier than usual. They were inspired by the union meeting on Friday April 13, which had unanimously rejected Tenneco's humiliating return-to-work conditions. The union had wired Tenneco of its refusal to submit.

The shipyard replied, over the weekend, with a media blitz designed to spark a back-to-work panic. Tenneco bought newspaper and TV ads directing strikers to come to the company personnel office April 16 and go through the reapplication procedure.

After Friday's union meeting, there seemed to be few takers. Barely a handful showed up, and some of them left after seeing the picket lines, which totalled 600-800 at all locations.

As the size of the picket lines grew, mostly at the main gate, groups of Steelworkers formed mobile squads that fortified lines at smaller gates, briefly shutting them to scabs for the first time since the strike began.

Cop Riot Begins

Newport News cops with attack dogs had moved in on the strikers several times in the early morning, picking off individual members and plowing into picket lines to make arrests. As the last scabs drifted in to work, state police reinforcements—more of them than at any time during the strike—began pouring in.

Shortly after 9 a.m., nearly 300 strikers lined both sides of the street in front of the shipyard. Their voices filled the streets with the words of "We Shall Not Be Moved."

Then, nearly 100 cops quickly massed in a line. Without warning, they took two or three rapid steps forward, then broke into a charge, sweeping down the street, their

clubs flying, knocking down anybody in front of them.

After clearing the main street of strikers, cops fanned into the nearby community and systematically assaulted groups of strikers retreating from the scene. Pickets at outlying picket stations, although they knew of the cop attack at the main gates, stood their ground until they too were assaulted and their picket lines broken.

Attack On Union Headquarters

The Steelworkers slowly regrouped at strike headquarters, informing each other of what had happened. The more they talked the angrier they got. Some were bleeding.

Twenty yards diagonally across the street, the police also regrouped. They were preparing another attack, much as they had carefully arrayed themselves at the main gate.

Strike leaders, sensing the impending charge, began huddling people into the lobby of the building.

Then the cops started marching—fast and hard—directly on the crowd outside the headquarters, jamming them with nightsticks, shouting at them to get inside.

The cops charged into the building lobby, throwing two Steelworkers through a plate-glass door.

The cops pounded strikers as they kicked them out of the building, slamming them onto the street and into walls. Among those beaten was the pregnant wife of a striker.

Other strikers were able to rush upstairs ahead of the cops and joined a defense team that pushed the police back and blocked them from reaching the second floor.

The cops, stunned by the powerful greeting they got on the landing between the first and second floors, withdrew from the building.

Regaining the Streets

The Steelworkers who had scattered to safety, and those caught by the police rush, again regrouped outside the headquarters. They were dazed by what had just happened.

It didn't take long for shock to turn to fury as shouts of defiance erupted from the crowd and from the two stories of Steelworker windows above.

Steelworker staff representative Bill James came to the front of the Local 8888 members. "They're trying to smash our union, to break us," he said.

The roar that went up from the strikers filled the street. "No!"

"Then let's go," James shouted, and 100 Steelworkers marched down the street toward the shipyard, past the cops and scores of onlookers who had just witnessed the stormtrooper assault.

The disciplined picket line marched from gate to gate up and down Washington Avenue for a mile, trailed by cops, then single file along several city blocks, until the police formed a human wall.

Steelworkers stopped, surrounded by an equal number of cops. They were told that in five minutes they would be arrested for "parading without a permit."

The pickets stood their ground. Then, about thirty seconds before the five minutes elapsed, James said, "At the count of ten, we disperse."

Every striker joined the shouted count-down, which ended with a cheer. Every striker dispersed. There were no arrests.

Strikers walked back to their headquarters, angry and proud. They had defied the cop attempt to deny them their right to city streets.

Everyone is aware that the massive police force that remains on the streets is designed to prevent any effective picketing. Tenneco's game remains one of delay and divide, of waiting for the pressure to push more strikers back into the yard. With the added ingredient now of violent police intimidation.

But Tenneco is hurting.

Confidential shipyard memoranda that found their way to the Steelworkers a few weeks ago cited "major disruptions" due to the strike in key work areas, as well as a "desperate" lack of pipefitters.

Ninety percent of the shipyard's vitally necessary welders are out. Work on the *Carl Vinson* aircraft carrier has stopped, while the yard's major project, an oil supertanker, is behind schedule.

The owners are not about to give up easily.

That's why they ordered the police they own to take off their gloves and apply the anti-strike, anti-labor, anti-picket "right to work" laws with vengeance.

The Steelworkers' courage in the face of such an attack has stayed the bosses momentarily. But it's also prompted much serious discussion.

How to win the strike. What to do if it's necessary to go back to work, and how to protect union members inside the yard. How to gain the solidarity of the rest of the labor movement.

They look back at Friday's union meeting as a high point of the strike, sensing the power it showed.

"What the union needs to do is call another meeting like last Friday," a forty-year-old Black worker remarked in a conversation outside strike headquarters. "It doesn't have to be at the coliseum, it could be at a park or something. Just to get our people together and explain what happened and what we should do about it."

Many see the need to bolster the picket



What Newport News Workers Are Fighting For

NEWPORT NEWS, Virginia—Why is Steelworkers Local 8888 standing fast against Tenneco?

It's not just money. Although the strikers know they average roughly 60 percent of what unionized shipbuilders across the country earn.

It's not only hazardous working conditions that prompted the strike. Although there has never been a shipyard contract with a safety clause, and the bosses maintain a standing threat to fire any worker for talking with the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA).

It's more than Tenneco's policy on wages and hours, despite the shipyard's virtual establishment of a six-day workweek and its removal of traditional paid holidays, such as Easter.

There's no cost-of-living clause in the contract. Wage raises are pegged to ninety days' work on a given job site and a favorable recommendation of the supervisor. That's why the tours of duty more often than not last eighty-five days and why the typical shipyard employee hasn't had a raise in anywhere from two to four years.

Any of these oppressive facts of life in the world's largest private shipyard are reasons to fight to the finish.

There are many more.

A company pension that leaves many workers after forty years of employment with forty dollars a month. For what's left of their life.

The plantation attitude of the bosses. Wage discrimination.

Unequal treatment of women workers.

On January 31, 1978, the majority of the shipyard's 15,500 production and maintenance workers voted to make the United Steelworkers of America their union. It was no small feat.

Tenneco spent tens of thousands of dollars to beat the Steelworkers. Supervisors and foremen campaigned for the

Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, the company union. The local media shrieked about "outsiders" from Pittsburgh, where the Steelworkers' international headquarters is located.

The Steelworkers were certified by the National Labor Relations Board on October 27, 1978. Tenneco and the PSA went to court. And there's no light at the end of that judicial tunnel in sight.

In the face of employer contempt for the democratic choice of the shipyard workers, the Steelworkers struck for union recognition of the first anniversary of the union election.

Local 8888's members described their strike as one for dignity on the job. For the right of the workers to be treated like human beings.

When Black and white 8888 members sing "We Shall Overcome," and "We Shall Not Be Moved," what they intend to overcome and will not be moved by is Tenneco, the nineteenth-biggest corporation in America. The huge, oil-rich conglomerate had its most profitable year ever in 1978, bringing in \$8.9 billion in sales and \$400 million in profits.

Tenneco's multi-billion-dollar power—backed up by courts, state and local cops, and antilabor "right to work" laws—combined to form a powerful foe of the Steelworkers.

But there's a reason that 8888's organizing drive, the fifth since the CIO tried to organize the shipyard four decades ago, was, unlike all the others, successful.

It's why 8888 refused to submit to Tenneco's demand that they reapply for their jobs, and crawl on their bellies to the corporate giant.

The union, and the fight for it, is a cause uniting young and old, Black and white, male and female, skilled and unskilled, in a common struggle for a better life. The union is the only weapon of self-defense the workers have.

lines dramatically. "What we need is the crowd that was at the coliseum out on the picket line," is an often repeated sentiment.

Solidarity

The strikers are the first to say they don't have much experience with the labor movement. But they are learning fast about solidarity.

"I've been getting calls from unions all

over the country," Wayne Crosby told the *Militant*, "from as far away as California. They want to know what happened. They want to picket with us."

Never has the potential for such a massive, united show of labor solidarity with the embattled Steelworkers of Newport News been greater. Never has it been more needed.

Striker after striker says why: "If they can attack our headquarters and get away with it, they can do it anywhere." □

Statement by Socialist Workers Party

Police Riot Was Attack on Entire Labor Movement

[The following has been excerpted from a statement issued April 18 by SWP leader Andrew Pulley. A member of United Steelworkers Local 1066 in Gary, Indiana, Pulley was the SWP's candidate for mayor in recent Chicago election.]



The bloody police riot against striking steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia, on April 16 was a calculated attack on the entire labor movement.

It must not go unanswered.

When uniformed stormtroopers can bust into a union strike headquarters—in a violent attempt to wreck the offices and beat up those inside—the rights of all unions are in jeopardy.

When peaceful pickets can be systematically broken up—denied their rights to free speech, free assembly, and even freedom to walk the streets—then no working person is safe.

An emergency outcry of protest—telegrams, news conferences, and rallies—is needed to show that the labor movement will not allow democratic rights to fall under police boots and billy clubs. Now is the time for a renewed nationwide campaign of labor solidarity with the embattled Newport News shipyard strikers.

The truth about police union busting in Newport News and the threat it poses must be made known. It is being covered up by the employers' news media which talk about "strike violence," as though the men and women fighting for their democratic right to union representation were at fault.

The need for solidarity is more urgent, not less, since the April 18 announcement by shipyard management of a new "offer" to allow strikers to return to work. This "offer"—a transparent attempt to divide the strikers—has been promptly repu-

diated by the union. The strike continues.

The members of USWA Local 8888 voted last December to strike because Tenneco refused to recognize their union and bargain with them. It is up to the members of Local 8888 to decide when they will end their strike and on what terms.

A powerful show of nationwide labor solidarity *now* is one of the best ways to help them in their present struggle and in future battles.

The stakes have never been higher. Newport News has become the front line of a major confrontation between the corporate profiteers and the labor movement. The bosses are determined to keep unions out of the low-wage, "right to work" South and to extend the same antilabor policies north, east, and west.

The Tenneco-cop strikebreaking in Newport News was no isolated event, no southern peculiarity. It is part of a national offensive of the capitalist class to make workers shoulder the burden of the world-

wide crisis of their economic system.

The Newport News steelworkers are setting an inspiring example of how working people can organize and fight back.

The union cause has brought together Black and white, men and women, young and old. They have held fast, despite Tenneco's virulent strikebreaking, despite news media lies, despite police violence.

They have gotten no help from the phony "friends of labor" in government. No Democratic or Republican politician has condemned the police riot or campaigned for the rights of the strikers.

Instead, local and state officials have sent two- and four-legged dogs against them. The courts and the National Labor Relations Board have willingly played Tenneco's game of stalling and starving the strikers back to work.

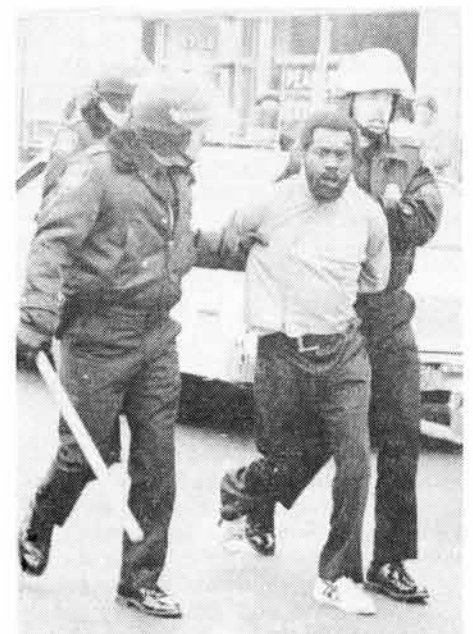
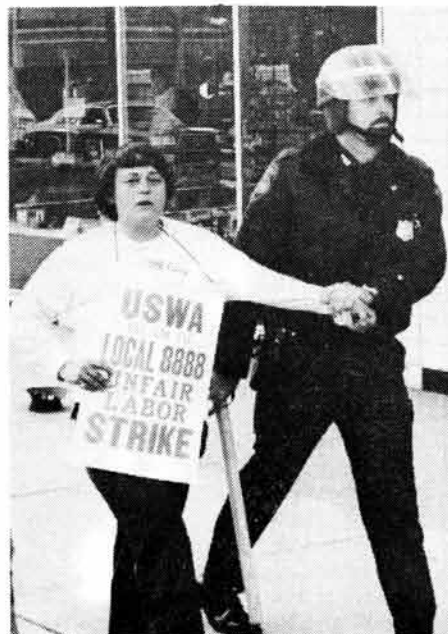
But the strikers have found allies—among other unionists, among Black organizations, among women's rights groups, among students. In this solidarity lies a power greater than Tenneco's billions. The power the coal miners showed when they laughed Carter's strikebreaking Taft-Hartley order out of the coal fields, with the support of other workers across the country.

Now the Newport News strikers need the same kind of solidarity from the labor movement and its allies. They need support resolutions from our local unions. They need our financial and material aid. They need to see rallies and picket lines at Tenneco's offices across the country. They need to see car caravans of unionists stream into Newport News to share picket duty with our steelworker brothers and sisters.

Protest police union busting!

An injury to one is an injury to all!

Support the Newport News steelworkers!



Newport News cops lead away striking workers.

Photos by Jon Hillson/Militant



200,000 jobs on chopping block in steel towns like Longwy.

The Shutdown in European Steel

By William Gottlieb

Some of the stormiest class battles in Western Europe in years have erupted in the steel industry in recent months. The high points so far have been the first official strike in fifty years by the West German steelworkers, who demanded a thirty-five-hour week, and the march in Paris March 23 by a hundred thousand workers demanding their jobs be saved.

The immediate cause of these class-struggle actions is the threat that the "Davignon Plan," named after Viscount Etienne Davignon, its author, poses to the livelihood of Europe's steelworkers.

Davignon, an official of the European Economic Community (Common Market), proposes that the European capitalists drastically reduce their steelmaking capacity in order to set the industry back on a profitable (to the capitalists) basis. The bosses are only too willing to follow Davignon's advice, but widescale shutdowns threaten to be disastrous for the European working class.

The root cause of the problem is that form of crisis unique to capitalism known as a crisis of "overproduction." Instead of producing for actual needs, capitalist production is geared to profit only. If effective demand, that is, demand backed up by the ability to pay, is not great enough to ensure that a commodity can be sold at a price high enough to deliver a "fair" return on the capital advanced, the capitalists will complain about inadequate "demand" and slash production.

In addition to the general crises of overproduction that periodically hit the entire capitalist world, there are partial crises that effect certain sectors of industry or certain regions. Particularly vulnerable

to this kind of crisis are those sectors of industry that the capitalists have allowed to fall behind in the race for increased labor productivity.

The European steel industry is a classic case in point. Construction of a steel mill requires a vast amount of capital. Consequently, the bosses are very reluctant to modernize them once they are built, since this would risk the loss of a portion of the original capital investment. Instead they prefer to "run them into the ground."

The result has been that Europe's steel industry has been lagging behind that of many "younger" capitalist countries such as Japan.

In addition, the European capitalists have been hit by American protectionism—the so-called "trigger price" system designed to safeguard the profits of the owners of the declining American steel industry. For example, the Common Market countries shipped 309,000 tons of steel to the U.S. in February 1979 compared to 790,000 in February 1978.

The following facts, taken from two big-business financial organs, illustrate the disastrous effects of such a policy on working people.

Agis Salpukas, writing in the *New York Times's* annual *International Economic Survey* February 4, 1979, states:

While world crude-steel output last year edged to a record 712 million metric tons—with third world producers, fueled by their continued industrialization, making the largest gains—production by the European Economic Community, although 5 percent higher than in 1977, languished at 15 percent below the level of 1974.

And with further declines foreseen, the industry in Europe, in order to compete with increasingly modern and efficient steel plants overseas,

has been phasing out older plants and consolidating the remaining ones under a plan that could ultimately mean the loss of some 65,000 steelworker jobs and further aggravate an already-battered working class.

Salpukas goes on to write:

The cutbacks are concentrated in some of the oldest industrial areas of Europe, such as Lorraine and the Saar region along the French-West German border. . . .

The industrial center of Longwy, according to the plan agreed upon last fall to save French steel companies [Salpukas should have said the money bags of their capitalist owners], could lose up to 13,000 jobs, about one-third of its labor force.

Nor are the cutbacks limited to the French steel industry. According to Salpukas, 36,000 out of 342,000 workers have lost their jobs in the West German steel industry since 1975.

The London *Economist* of February 10-16 paints an even grimmer picture. Under the headline "200,000 must go," this organ of the City (London's financial district) writes:

The latest guesstimates of the sort of steel capacity the EEC should sensibly aim for by the mid-1980s make gloomier reading than even this newspaper expected. On the most optimistic assumptions, production is expected to be around 155m tonnes (compared with 130m tonnes in 1978). Production will still be 20m tonnes below capacity. If productivity is by then about 500 tonnes per man year—much better than now, but barely acceptable by world standards—that means something like 200,000 jobs out of the present labour force of 510,000 (not including staff) should go.

And this on the most "optimistic" assumption! It of course does not occur to the *Economist* that it is not 200,000 steelworkers who should "go" but rather the capitalist "investors" who allowed the industry to run down in the first place.

If the actual physical need for steel in the world was satisfied, one could at least make a case for shutting down the older steel mills, retraining the workers involved, and providing them with new jobs at full union-scale wages.

But in reality the world's need for more steel is enormous. For example, China's plan to modernize by the year 2000 would not be as utopian as it now is if the European (and other) steel plants would produce steel based on China's needs as opposed to its ability to pay.

The same is true for the entire impoverished semicolonial world, not to speak of the war-ravaged countries of Indochina. And even in the most advanced countries, demand for steel would increase sharply if human need rather than "purchasing power" determined the limits of production.

The current struggles of European workers give hope that these "theoretical" possibilities may become reality sooner than might be thought. □

France—SP and CP Prepare to Confront Workers Upsurge

By Pierre Frank

The convention of the Socialist Party is scheduled to take place in early April; the CP convention will be held in May. These two parties are followed by the mass of workers in France. Although they won a slim majority of the votes in the national elections in March 1978, they were defeated in them owing both to the way the districts are carved up and, especially, to the disunity that increasingly afflicted the so-called Union of the Left in the six or seven months preceding the elections.

These conventions will be the first to take place since their electoral defeat, and they will come just before the elections for the European [Common Market] Parliament. There is no doubt about what will come out of the CP's convention, and the same goes for the SP convention. But we should begin by summarizing the political, social, and economic context in which these gatherings take place.

France is being hit hard by the economic crisis. The inflation rate is among the highest in Western Europe. The number of unemployed is over a million and a half and is still rising. The various "plans" the Barre government has put forward have not led to any improvement in the economy.

Since the Union of the Left was defeated and its components had a falling out, Giscard-Barre and the employers believe that anything is possible for them. Under the pretext of defending the franc and stifling inflation, they are trying to lower the standard of living of the workers.

The standard of living was not seriously hit until the middle of 1978, but since then attacks have been taking place on all levels: wage increases held below price increases; heavy increase in Social Security tax and attacks on certain Social Security benefits; new restrictions on unemployment compensation; increase in the prices of public services, rent hikes, elimination of price controls; increase in taxes, etc.

The already considerable discontent of the masses has begun to give way to anger in some industrial centers and in some cities in the regions that are particularly hard hit (Nord, Pas-de-Calais, Lorraine). Strikes and demonstrations are increasing and are sometimes taking a turbulent form. The two most telling examples are those in the cities of Longwy and Denain, steel towns, where genuine riots took place, with attacks on police stations that the union leaderships were powerless to prevent.

While there is general sympathy for these local explosions, the tendency for the movements to spread is not yet fully developed. It is true that unemployment weighs heavily on the workers who have a job, but the growing unemployment does not suffice to explain this state of affairs. The electoral defeat has not demoralized the working class nor cut into its desire for unity. The voters ignore the quarrels between the CP and SP when there is a second round in elections.

What weighs most heavily on the workers is that the political perspective of the hope for victory of the Union of the Left has disappeared without being replaced by another perspective. As we will see later, the two traditional parties have now largely fallen back on themselves, each preoccupied with its internal difficulties and its parliamentary cretinism.

The Divisions in the Bourgeoisie

The bourgeoisie is divided on the political plane. We know about the Giscard-Chirac¹ split. Barely stifled for the period that preceded the March 1978 elections, it rapidly reappeared and became increasingly sharp.

At the root of this division are two different political conceptions for the future. Chirac wants to maintain the great division that existed in de Gaulle's time: the Gaullists on the one side and the Communists on the other, with the intermediate formations, including the SP, snuffed out, with the result that the Gaullists would remain eternally dominant.

On the other hand, with the help of time and circumstances, Giscard hopes to see a crumbling of the Gaullists, isolation of the Communists, and a coalition of the bourgeois center with a wing of the Socialists who would become convinced that they would have no chance to get into the government as long as they allied with the Communists.

This Giscard-Chirac conflict was developing rather slowly, with the two antagonists preparing themselves for an open contest during the 1981 presidential election.

But in the wake of the growing discontent of the masses, Chirac's RPR wants to differentiate itself as much as possible from the Giscard-Barre policy. It is hindered in these maneuvers because Giscard,

the president of the republic, is threatening to go ahead and dissolve the National Assembly and hold new elections if the government finds itself a minority in the Assembly.

Chirac is also trying to stir up public opinion on ultranationalist terms with an eye to the European elections, using themes that find an echo in the backward sections of the working masses and petty bourgeoisie.

Birth and Death of Union of Left

To better understand the questions that will be taken up at the two conventions, we should briefly review why the Union of the Left was set up in 1972 and why it suffered a de facto breakdown in 1977.

The process of politization of the working class engendered by May 1968 surpassed anything in the past. It tended to call into question the capitalist order. The example of the Lip factory occupation was a symptom of this.

Only the mass workers organizations were capable of directing it into parliamentary channels, so as to prevent capitalism itself from being called into question. For years the CP had put forward the idea of a union of the left parties on a reformist program; thus it had a ready-made orientation even though it had neither foreseen May 1968 nor supported this movement.

The problem was more complicated for the SP. Guy Mollet had for years practiced a "third force" policy (collaboration with the bourgeois center) and had paid quite a heavy price in terms of growing difficulties for the SP. These culminated in a disaster in the 1969 presidential election, where the SP candidate got only about 5 percent of the vote.

The SP's crisis came to a head at its convention in Epinay in 1971. There they decided to create a "new socialist party," to be led by Mitterrand, often a government minister in the Fourth Republic.

After May 1968 Mitterrand had proposed a policy that seemed audacious to the members of the Socialist Party.

If the SP were to become strong, he said, it would have to renounce all "third force" tactics and, instead, establish an alliance with the CP with the aim of winning an electoral majority in the country.

Thus he was moving in the same direction as the policy proposed by the CP, even to the point of discussing the content of the Union of the Left's program with them. To those who objected that a party as weak as the SP could not dream of making an agreement with a party as disciplined and

1. The rightist mayor of Paris whose RPR (Rassemblement pour la République—Assembly for the Republic) is part of the ruling coalition.—*IP/1*

strong as the CP, that one couldn't dine with the devil if one didn't have a large spoon, he responded that his policy was the only one that would strengthen the relationship of forces vis-à-vis the CP.

Mitterrand carried the day at Epinay because Mollet's policy was rejected by everyone and because no one else had formulated any alternative.

Mitterrand's projections were soon borne out. In the 1974 presidential election (where there was less than a 1 percent difference between the vote totals of Giscard and Mitterrand), in the local elections of 1976, and especially in the municipal elections of 1977 the increase in the vote for the Union of the Left seemed unstoppable. But while the adoption of the common program in 1972 took place at a time when the economy was strong, this later gave way to the economic crisis. Thus it was necessary to revise the program for the 1978 elections. That is when the tensions that led to the split appeared.

The leaders of the SP wanted to reduce some of the promises in the program without, however, announcing it too loudly. The leadership of the CP had concerns of another kind. In the rise of the Union of the Left, the SP caught up with and surpassed the CP's vote, which, on the whole, was stagnating and even fell a bit in the old bastions of the Paris suburbs.

When the first signs of this tendency became evident, the CP leadership became concerned because in previous big agreements with the SP—for the Popular Front and following the Liberation—it was the CP that had been the major beneficiary.

The March 1977 municipal elections alarmed the CP. On its right the SP was growing and even winning a little at its expense. On its left the far-left slates made relatively impressive showings in the working-class neighborhoods, receiving nearly a million votes throughout France.

We know that this aspect of the situation, which was not mentioned publicly, was carefully examined in the Political Bureau of the CP.

When the discussions on updating the common program began, the CP leadership was ready to make concessions to the SP leaders if, in exchange, they got guarantees regarding the number and nature of ministries that would be given to the Communist Party, the posts it would get in the nationalized industries, and the maintenance of the governmental coalition in case of disagreements.

In other words the CP was ready to carry out a Callaghan-like governmental policy and to face offensives on its left, but only on the condition that it had guarantees that it would be solidly entrenched in the state and para-state apparatus.

When the SP leadership turned a deaf ear to the CP leaders' demands, the CP then discovered that the SP was involved in a "right turn" and went into battle against its "associate" in the Union of the Left. The CP's unconcealed aim was to

slow down and if possible set back the SP's electoral progress in order to improve its relationship of forces with the SP. We know the results.

Since the electoral defeat relations between the two parties have only worsened, and the two conventions will take place in this context.

The Competing Factions in the SP

Seven general policy motions have been formally submitted for a vote at the SP congress that will take place in Metz. The main ones, four in number, have been presented by Mitterrand, Rocard, Mauroy, and the CERES.² The aim of the others was primarily to prepare for and carry out maneuvers, skillful or otherwise, during the convention. While the SP is continuing to move ahead electorally—the government's policy alone would contribute to that—there is a basic problem posed that is at the root of its present internal struggles, but that is not presented in a clear manner.

What is this problem? Having become the first party in France, the SP cannot remain forever an opposition party. But how will it get into the government? Having no hope of obtaining an absolute majority by itself it must necessarily seek allies, in addition to the handful of "Left Radicals" who are parasites on its body, if it is to build a parliamentary majority and a presidential majority.

The SP cannot dream of returning directly to a "third force" policy—i.e., an alliance with a bourgeois party—without provoking both the loss of the greater part of the ground it has regained through the Union of the Left and an almost certain split in its ranks. This would be an inevitable result under the present political conditions in France. Nor can it accept the humiliating terms of the CP, since this would reduce its audience in those milieux that will only vote for an SP-CP bloc as long as the CP is kept in a subordinate position.

No current, tendency, or faction in the SP is today proposing an alliance with a bourgeois party. Everyone in the party says they are partisans of maintaining an alliance of the "left." But they will not be able to do this unless they can find a way to lead the CP to a change of heart through a superior relationship of forces of the SP to the CP.

This problem is at the root of the internal struggle in the SP, but it is not formulated so explicitly. Moreover, the responses to the problem are muddled by other considerations of an organizational or personal nature.

The fight at the convention will polarize around Mitterrand and Rocard. Mauroy places his emphasis on the need to maintain the unity of the party around Mitter-

rand, but calls on him to function as a less absolute leader. The CERES denounces the CP's sectarianism, but is defending political positions that are close to those of the CP.

What are the differences between Mitterrand and Rocard, which seem to go beyond what they have said up to now and what they have written in their resolutions? Above all Rocard presents himself as the trained realistic economist who would not forget that in the present economic crisis not all demands can be satisfied. In other words, he wants people to see him, and not Barre, as the number one economist in the country, the only one who can provide remedies to these problems.

Outside the SP, Rocard wants this message to be heard by the new middle layers and those working-class layers influenced by technocratic arguments, such as one finds in a segment of the CFDT.³ Rocard thus seems to be seeking to extend the SP's influence on its right, while ignoring the Communist electorate, which he must feel is irreducible at its present plateau.

The Mitterrand motion is politically situated "on the left." It denounces the Giscard-Barre policy in such a way that its orientation seems close to that of the CP. It also contains a criticism of Rocard's positions without naming him, when it denounces the "supposed" economic laws" that "are in fact nothing but the management principles of the capitalist system."

It retains very little of the 1972 program. Thus his motion should allow him to garner the support of the CERES's votes, without which he probably could not win the leadership by a majority. This is his objective in the short run, but his longer term aim is somewhat different. In contrast to the CERES, which leans toward the CP, Mitterrand's motions included very strong criticisms of the CP on all the points where it is very vulnerable:

... The Socialists will clearly point out the shortcomings of the CP. They will pose precise questions about the contradiction between democratic centralism⁴ and the demand for self-management, between theoretic internationalism and nationalist practice, between the CP's coming around to pluralism and the Soviet reality, between left-sounding speeches and sabotage of the left alliance, etc. . . . The Communist Party will either further seal itself off in its sectarian rejection or come to an understanding of its duty. When that day comes, the SP will say how it intends to take part in the dialogue.

Mitterrand also emphasizes the need to

3. Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (French Democratic Confederation of Labor), influenced by the SP.—*IP/I*

4. Like many others, Mitterrand uses democratic centralism to designate the system of bureaucratic centralism installed in the Communist Parties in Stalin's time. This system has been maintained up to the present with a few accommodations and has nothing to do with true democratic centralism, which involves the most democratic decision-making and discipline only in action.

2. Centre d'Etudes, de Recherches, et d'Education Socialistes (Center for Socialist Studies, Research, and Education), the SP "left wing."—*IP/I*

strengthen the SP's presence in the factories. Thus, in the longer term, he wants to strengthen his party by taking on the CP's claim to be the only working-class party, by eating into the CP's audience and even its ranks. Not very long ago he had said that, in his view, the CP had taken off its "Leninist trappings" (meaning the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc.), but that it had not "cut the umbilical cord with the structures, the methods of thinking and organization that produce Stalinism."

In the final analysis Mitterrand is apparently seeking to strengthen and consolidate his party on its left at the expense of the CP, along the lines that he had expressed at the Epinay convention.

At the Metz convention, we should remember, the real differences will not be presented as clearly as we have described them. The maneuvers have already begun and will continue. Mitterrand is going to try to isolate Rocard; once he is a little more sure of the support of the CERES, he will turn his efforts toward Mauroy. The mass media are on the whole favorable to Rocard. Later on we shall examine the attitude of the CP leadership to the internal struggles within the SP.

The Present Policy of the CP

The documents presented by the CP Central Committee for the next convention—the basic content of which certainly will not be changed—are in no way different from the line the party has been publicly following since late 1977. That is to say, uninterrupted fire aimed at the SP, whether relevant or irrelevant. As is increasingly the case with the CP's documents, the draft resolution contains far fewer proofs than peremptory assertions, following the principle that an assertion repeated many times finally equals a proof. "The crisis, while not limited to the framework of our country, is above all national. . . . The crisis is also international. . . ." We will shortly look at the reason for "above all national."

Regarding the French political situation, the differences between the bourgeois formations and the SP are muddled as much as possible. The RPR and the UDF⁵ are lumped under a single term—Giscardism, the Giscardian forces—although the tension between these formations is considerable.

The draft resolution goes even further, speaking of an "attempt at reconciliation" of the Giscardian forces and the SP, "with the aim of a common application of the policy of capital" to which only the CP is an obstacle. The differences inside the SP, including the CERES, are only, in the words of the draft, squabbles over how to apply "the rightward orientation."

Thus the CP leadership presents the French political situation as a concerted campaign by everyone from the far right

5. Union pour la Démocratie Française (Union for French Democracy), Giscard d'Estaing's party. —IP/1

to the SP against the CP, all alone. Here we again see a very old concept in the workers movement, according to which the party of the working class, in this case the CP, will be up against a "united reactionary mass."

From this analysis the CP leadership concludes that while it does not renounce the Union of the Left policy, while that policy remains inscribed in its program, its realization depends on the existence of a strong CP and new agreements for the Union of the Left can only come about "through 'action from below,' which has and will retain a decisive character."

Here we again come across the famous "united front from below," which long experience has shown means the opposite of a united front. In fact, the present policy of the CP recalls something of the "third period," except that what is involved is not an ultraleft revolutionary policy, but rather a reformist policy directed in the first place against the SP.⁶ The orders to the CP cells are that they are not to speak to the SP sections but are to rush to the head of any struggle in order to present themselves as the "only defender" of the workers, cutting the ground out from under even the CGT.⁷

The CP alone against everyone? On one question it certainly isn't alone. On one question it has the same position as . . . Chirac. That question is the CP's jingoistic, nationalist, anti-German campaign, which brings to mind the French bourgeoisie's demonstrations between the war of 1870 and the Treaty of Versailles. "National independence" is threatened, France is under Germany's thumb, and so forth.

The CP's campaign for the European elections will be carried out on a slate on which some bourgeois elements are to be found.⁸ This shameless nationalism, this flag waving aimed at politically backward layers of the workers is particularly dangerous in this time of unemployment since, whether the CP leadership wants it or not, it is grist for the mill of growing racist and xenophobic campaigns.

Regarding the content of the CP draft resolution, we note the confirmation of the

6. Nevertheless, last year's by-elections gave food for thought to the CP leadership. It saw that staying in the second round of elections against a Socialist candidate who came in ahead in the first round was not supported by the voters, and cost the CP heavily in electoral setbacks. Accordingly, the Central Committee adopted the general rule that in the local elections and the next by-elections the CP would step aside in the second round in favor of the left candidate who is ahead in the first round.

7. Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor), dominated by the CP. —IP/1

8. A representative of the CP publicly stated that if the rules of the European Assembly permit, the Communists elected to that assembly would set up a separate group, including the Italian Communists who are elected. This is where the CP leadership's "national independence" winds up.

abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat at the previous convention, and silence regarding "Leninism." "Proletarian internationalism," which for the leadership had meant lining up with the Kremlin's policy, has been replaced by the phrase "internationalist solidarity," whose meaning is as vague as possible and can be used by everyone.

This vague alleged internationalism is, by contrast, very specific on one point: France requires "an independent national defense that can only . . . be real if it is based on the maintenance of the nuclear deterrent force." Who still remembers the "Stockholm Petition"?⁹

Knowing that the party's past slavish attitude toward the Soviet Union serves as a lead weight, the CP leadership is trying to cast off this burden by means of some formulas, as if it could absolve itself of sins that it says were only venial sins anyway. In regard to the supposedly socialist countries, the draft resolution asserts that "socialism exists" and that "the balance sheet of the socialist countries is on the whole positive."

At most, from the past there remain "some practices and some defects" that are not otherwise specified, which in no way implies the slightest idea of "a break with the socialist countries." Obviously there is not the slightest hint of any sort of campaign against these inadmissible "practices," not even against the death penalty recently inflicted on some Armenians, whose guilt has not been proven, for a terrorist act.

Having taken up some of the important political points, let us see how preparations for the convention were handled. One may recall that one of the points raised during the wave of questioning that followed the electoral defeat was the undemocratic regime in the party. The document submitted for discussion declares with an imperturbable seriousness that the internal life of the party is "the most democratic" to be found in France, while neglecting to mention all the criticisms that the members have made of it.

The only perceptible concession to these criticisms is that the new party statutes give the Central Committee the right to decide to open the discussion bulletins outside of periods leading up to conventions if it wants to. It is true that none of the CP members who had expressed their criticisms in the bourgeois press have been penalized, the leadership having even said that no one would be expelled.¹⁰ In the

9. An appeal against nuclear weapons, strongly supported by Moscow and the European CPs and signed by millions in the early 1950s.—IP/1

10. Marchais, who doesn't fear ridicule, went so far as to say that [Charles] Tillon [a leader of the 1919 French sailors revolt and of the resistance during World War II] had never been expelled from the CP and that he could therefore come in whenever he wanted and discuss his return to the party with the "appropriate bodies." Why not

recently opened discussion bulletin there have been some contributions critical of the positions put forward by the leadership, but they were quite timid, more defensive than offensive, and the full-timers immediately answered them.

When a provincial cell sent a counter-draft resolution to the Central Committee, the CP refused to publish it and Plissonnier, who for many years has been in charge of directing the apparatus, sent them a letter in the name of the party Secretariat, in which he said:

The method of preparing a convention on the basis of several competing documents interferes with the right of each member to participate fully in the determination of the party's policy and to express himself with full knowledge. Because in such a case the only thing a member can do is line up behind one or another banner, without knowing what will finally be the policy of his party. . . . Furthermore this demand is even more unacceptable inasmuch as your draft resolution, in its content, tends to call into question the decisions taken at the [preceding] convention, decisions that the Central Committee received a mandate to carry out.

This document is a beautiful illustration of "the most democratic life" that prevails in the party. We understand that the cell in question had decided to circulate its document itself. Furthermore, most of those who presented different opinions the previous year have no illusions about their chances of overcoming the barriers that have been set up and making it all the way to the rostrum of the convention and being able to publish their documents in the discussion bulletin.

A purge is taking place among the full-timers. Editors of *France Nouvelle*, the main CP weekly, were led to turn in their resignations, after being told, according to one of them, that "my attitude, my opinion, my speeches, my questions were fine for a 'rank-and-file' Communist, but not for a full-timer, and particularly a leader" (*Le Monde*, March 10, 1979).

Another example: the discussion that had taken place last year had a slight influence on the leadership of the Paris Federation, which had allowed echoes of it to find their way into the internal discussions in its organ *Paris-Hebdo*. It was not long before *Paris-Hebdo* was abolished . . . for financial reasons. Moreover, on the eve of the opening of the discussion in the party, the secretary of the Paris Federation, Fizbin, a member of the Central Committee, was authorized to "give up" his position . . . for reasons of health" to another member of the Central Committee, who is well known for his vigilance.¹¹

also ask [André] Marty [also a leader of the 1919 sailors revolt, expelled in 1952] to rise from his grave and do the same? Some oppositionists have raised the question of Marty's rehabilitation, as he was expelled as a "police agent," but the CP leadership has remained silent on this question.

11. Several currents in opposition to the leader-

One question again arises regarding the CP's policy—how long will the leadership follow this sectarian policy and who can change it? The main objective of this policy, we have stated, is to reestablish a favorable relationship of forces for the CP with regard to the SP. Therefore the leadership will not be inclined to change its course until it has achieved this objective, something that does not seem close at hand, in fact quite the opposite.¹²

But the situation is not solely dependent on the plans and calculations of the leaderships. The tendency in the masses for united action is strong, and the offensive of the government and the bosses will only strengthen it further. No leadership can continue to ignore it.

Already at the CGT convention, one could see currents that are not ready to follow the CP's sectarian policy, and the leadership of the CGT, at least certain members of it, pretended to take these currents into account. The CP's present policy can only lead to a dead end.

Only One Perspective: the General Strike

In summary, during the next two or three months the two mass workers parties are each going to decide or reaffirm their orientation. Mitterrand's motion and the CP draft contain important demands that are common to both, beginning with the thirty-five-hour week with no decrease in wages.

But instead of preparing for a common struggle to take up this demand, which today is also the common demand of all

ship, still numerically very weak, have appeared since March 1978. So far they have developed mainly among sectors of the CP student youth and the intellectuals. This is the case of the students of the Union des Etudiants Communistes [Union of Communist Students] in Bordeaux, the "Althusserian" current, or even the journalists and intellectuals of various CP magazines.

But recently a new opposition has emerged, in the beginning mainly composed of workers, which is publishing a discussion bulletin called "Luttes et Débats." This new oppositional current is characterized by its desire to counterpose a class-struggle political alternative to the leadership of the party. This differentiates it, for example, from Elleinstein, who above all sticks to criticizing the party's lack of democracy, its ties with the Stalinist heritage, and its sectarianism with regard to the Social Democracy; as well as from others who confine themselves to making more or less abstract criticisms of the party leadership without outlining an alternative political line.

The time to examine the contents, themes, and currents revealed in the discussion will be when the discussion has developed further.

12. A body that follows the sales figures of newspapers in Paris has recently reported the figures for average daily sales of [the CP organ] *l'Humanité* (along with the other dailies) for "Paris-surface," meaning the newsstands. They are:

	1978	1979
January	20,849	17,148
February	21,574	18,210

the workers in Western Europe, these two leaderships are above all trying to maximize their gains at the other's expense, to block and reduce the other's gains. For each, their narrow interests have priority over the interests of the working class.

We can say that, except for the most politicized militants, the workers do not follow these debates and do not understand the motives and results of these quarrels, both the quarrels within these parties and between them. They see no indication, no policy that provides a political perspective with which to carry out resistance to the attacks by the government and the employers.

Such a perspective does exist, however, and is not at all illusory. This perspective is the general strike. Obviously we're not talking about arbitrarily calling a general strike. Rather we're talking about now situating all the present battles in the framework of propaganda for this perspective, situating them in the framework of a generalized movement whose aim would be to sweep away the government, to impose a government of the CP and SP, and to open the way to workers power.

This is not an illusory perspective, particularly in France where the memory of June 1936 and May 1968, as well as the generalized movements of the postwar period (1946-48) are still fresh in the minds of the workers.

It is not an illusory perspective because, in contrast to May 1968, which broke out in the absence of a program of already widely known general demands, such a program does exist now: the thirty-five-hour week with no cut in pay, a substantial increase in the minimum wage, closing the spread of wages and salaries, no attacks against Social Security, stop the nuclear program, increase the budgets for public works, and so forth. All this is seen as a transition toward the construction of a socialist society. Herein lies the substance of the debates that have been taking place inside the French workers movement for several years.

Now more than ever before, the difficulties that stand in the way of pushing forward this perspective do not lie in aspirations and willingness of the working masses to fight; rather they are found in the conformism and cowardice of the traditional leaderships.

But despite these leaderships the turn in the situation will take place. At this point it is impossible to predict when it will happen. But the signs that herald it are increasing. Longwy and Denain bring to mind Brest and Toulon, which heralded June 1936; they bring to mind Caen, Redon, and the like, which heralded May 1968.

We can be certain that not only will the next assault inevitably take place, but also that it will be much more powerful than those that the workers have carried out in the past.

Thai Dictatorship Steps Up Aid to Pol Pot

By Fred Feldman

Rightist forces led by Pol Pot continue to suffer major setbacks in battles with Kampuchean and Vietnamese troops backing the Heng Samrin government. "Western intelligence sources have confirmed that the Vietnamese have overrun his [Pol Pot's] jungle headquarters," the April 20 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported.

Gains by progovernment forces occurred in the face of deepening involvement by the pro-U.S. Thai regime in backing the Khmer Rouge gangs that were ousted from power in January.

"The Khmer Rouge have received some not so covert help from Thailand," Fay Willey and Folger Jensen said in the April 23 *Newsweek*. "U.S. officials report that the Thais have looked the other way recently when the Chinese have transhipped small amounts of supplies across Thailand to their Khmer Rouge allies. . . .

"About 4,000 Khmer Rouge soldiers and civilians have crossed into Thailand since the Vietnamese offensive began. The guerrillas carry American-made field radios and claim to be in communication with a 'central command.' Their orders are simple, a Khmer Rouge soldier said last week: 'When we see Vietnamese occupy a village, we fight, liberate it, and take the civilians with us.'"

Newsweek quoted a diplomat in Bangkok as saying, "The Thais are playing a dangerous game. Now there's nothing to stop Hanoi from accusing Bangkok of giving aid and succor to the enemy."

Delicately left out of recent leaks about Thai backing to the Pol Pot forces is the role played by Washington (through Beijing, Bangkok, and other conduits) in maintaining the Khmer Rouge as well as other reactionary forces in Kampuchea.

Thailand's aid to Pol Pot has been a major obstacle to the Kampuchean government's efforts to assure protection to the peasants against punitive raids and forced population transfers.

One of many incidents was reported by Jensen in the April 9 *Newsweek*, based on the report of a young Kampuchean who recently sought refuge in Thailand:

"For the eighteen men, women, and children of Ching Ha village in northwest Cambodia, the arrival of Vietnamese troops nearly three months ago marked a brief but real liberation. More than a hundred of their fellow villagers had been executed for minor infractions—or had simply died of overwork, starvation or lack of medical care. . . . The Vietnamese fed the peasants, gave them pots and pans

and told them that they were free to travel. So when their protectors moved on to the larger town of Sisophon, 10 miles away, the emaciated survivors of Ching Ha tagged along.

"In Sisophon, the Vietnamese largesse ended as more and more refugees crowded into the town. The group from Ching Ha . . . decided to return home to harvest the rice crop they had left behind. Halfway there they were captured by a band of 30 Khmer Rouge guerrillas, who bound their hands and led them to a camp close to the

Thai border. The next morning their captors marched them into the forest and set upon them with axes. . . . As Suen [one of the intended victims] crawled away from the killing ground, he came across a youth called Pum, whose throat had been slashed, deeply but not fatally, from ear to ear. The two then managed to drag themselves across the border to safety."

Jensen reported that "the new regime disclosed that it had been forced to issue weapons to Cambodian villagers for self-protection." □

Trotskyists Organize Protest in Hong Kong

More Dissidents Arrested in China



South China Morning Post Picketline at Xinhua office in Hong Kong April 5, called by Trotskyists to protest crackdown on dissent by Chinese regime.

The Chinese regime's move to curb dissent has been extended from Beijing to major provincial cities.

A dispatch from Guangzhou (Canton) in the April 14 *Washington Post* reports that official notices spelling out new restrictions on public expression were posted up on nearly every block in that city April 5, and virtually all wall posters were torn down.

Posters were also destroyed by authorities in the downtown area of Chongqing (Chungking), and in the industrial city of Wuhan. In the southwestern city of Kunming, wall posters were reportedly left untouched, but the local press published threatening articles in an effort to intimidate dissidents.

In Beijing, arrests of individual dissidents have continued. Agence France-Press reported that as many as forty may now be in custody. Wall posters and dissident publications continue to appear at Democracy Wall, although their contents are reportedly more subdued than before the present crackdown began.

Foreign correspondents in Beijing and other cities report that most Chinese are now reluctant to speak with them in public.

In Hong Kong on April 5, the Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Marxist League organized an emergency picket line of thirty people outside the offices of the Xinhua News Agency to protest the new wave of repression in China and demand the release of all imprisoned dissidents. □

Marxist, Feminist, Fighter for the Working Class

By Mary-Alice Waters

[The following tribute to Evelyn Reed was given by Mary-Alice Waters at an April 8 memorial meeting held in New York.]

* * *

Evelyn Reed was a materialist. That, if it can be done, summarizes her great strength in one word.

It was Evelyn's understanding of the long view of history and the materialist dialectic that enabled her to make a real contribution to a scientific understanding of humanity's passage to class society; that enabled her to enrich Marxism; that enabled her to conquer many limitations imposed on her by capitalist society; that enabled her to understand those obstacles that she couldn't conquer by sheer force of will.

It enabled her to see that the problems of life that take a toll on everyone are not fundamentally private problems or personal shortcomings but are created by exploiters who rule the decaying, class-divided society in which we live.

Evelyn was a materialist through and through—a consistent materialist. That was why she was a Marxist. That was why she was a feminist. That was why when she became convinced that the working class had the power to remove this wretched ruling class, Evelyn turned her back on the first thirty-five years of her life to give every ounce of her strength, her energy, and her intelligence to building a revolutionary workers party in the United States.

She saw clearly that this was the only road to the liberation of humanity from the economic shackles that bring poverty, war, the threat of nuclear annihilation—and that distort, corrupt, and limit all human relations.

To understand Evelyn Reed the Marxist, the feminist, and the fighter for the working class, you have to understand something about where she came from. Contrary to what some of you may have heard, Evelyn didn't come from a wealthy family.

She was born in 1905 in Haledon, New Jersey. Her father left home when she was very young and died before she was in her teens. Evelyn and her two sisters grew up in New Jersey living with her mother, a devouring and domineering woman, whom Evelyn disliked immensely. Years later she would sometimes refer to the psychological

misery inflicted on children by what she called "cannibal mom." I always sensed there was an element of personal history involved.

When she was still in her mid-teens, Evelyn escaped to New York and began to make her own way in life.

One of the few people from this period whom Evelyn spoke about with affection was an aunt in New York who first introduced her to the museums, took her to plays and concerts, who introduced her to the broader culture of the times.

Evelyn became a serious aspiring artist, which was not that easy for a young woman in the 1920s. She was a rebel and a fighter. She had courage. I'm sure her youthful courage had a great deal of brashness in it, and her rebelliousness had a strong dose of contempt for hypocritical bourgeois mores.

I once heard Evelyn proudly describe herself as an alley cat—someone who knew what it took to survive in the real capitalist world, because she'd done it. She fought her way through life and landed on her feet.

New York Bohemian Circles

Evelyn traveled in New York's bohemian milieu of artists and writers. Early in life she had absorbed what all women are taught from the day they're born—that they're expected to sell themselves. Evelyn decided she could turn this back on society and use it to her advantage. She was young and attractive and found a wealthy German chemist who was willing to set her up in comfort and fashion. She thought this would give her the freedom to make her own way.

From her own experiences as a young woman determined to live on her own terms and not those imposed by society, Evelyn learned that society was structured in thousands of ways to destroy her as an individual rebel. To break her spirit. To force her into the assigned role for a woman of her class, in her generation.

So after a while, Evelyn decided to try the more conventional route. She married an aspiring young writer and went back home with him to Iowa—only to decide that the narrow family life was too confining for her spirit. In a few years she fled back to New York.

One of Evelyn's paintings during that period beautifully expresses what she thought about her life in the Midwest. The five young sisters of her husband are all

attired in stiff Victorian dresses. They seem bound up, unable to move. All have innocent, pretty faces—that are absolutely empty and on the surface almost identical. But what comes through that painting as you look at it is the stifled intelligence of these young women and the trapped rebelliousness that lies beneath the surface. That very fine painting tells a lot about Evelyn, about her life in Iowa, and about what she was going through.

Looking for Answers

By the time Evelyn got back to New York, her younger sister had married an aging wealthy General Motors tycoon. Now Evelyn had no financial worries. She traveled to Mexico and Central America to paint. She was "free." But she knew something was missing. She was searching desperately for answers.

I've heard Evelyn tell this personal story of hers to more than one shocked listener—and in much more vivid detail than I have today. But Evelyn always told it to make a political point.

From her own experiences, she understood that personal nonconformism elevated to what's called today a "lifestyle" becomes a backhanded way of accepting the oppressive institutions of class society that she so roundly denounced.

When Evelyn finally came across Engels's explanation of how the family and its twin institution of prostitution arose as pillars of class society and determine the oppression of women, she already knew the truth of class and sex oppression. Now she understood where it came from and why.

No Personal Solution

By the end of the 1930s Evelyn had learned that there are no personal solutions, that there are no utopian lifestyles that can liberate you. She understood that she herself would have been one of the victims of the capitalist system if she hadn't found a coherent explanation of the world and a perspective for how to change it.

In 1974 two young French feminists came to the United States to do a series of interviews with leaders of the women's liberation movement here. One of the women they talked with was Evelyn.

It's a fascinating interview. As you read it you see that Evelyn was also interviewing them. Evelyn's characteristic warmth, her curiosity about these women, her de-

sire to know more about their ideas, their experiences, to draw them out as much as they were drawing her out—all this comes through.

One of the questions these women asked Evelyn was about alternative lifestyles. What did she think about the groups that want to change the way we live *now*? Evelyn gave a fine answer.

"Counterculturalism, alternative cultures, new lifestyles, whatever you want to call it," Evelyn said, "that's not something new that came along with the feminist movement. That comes out of the youth movement, from the revolt of youth, from the desire to live better right now, despite the predatory nature of capitalism. We're totally sympathetic. That's what we're fighting for, too, for a life that's better adapted to the needs of human beings. But the question is to know how to get there. Utopianism is futile. It's ridiculous."

One of the interviewers asked, "But don't these experiments have a positive side?"

"They are certainly valuable if one learns to know the limits of freedom under capitalism," Evelyn responded.

Class Hatred

From her experiences, Evelyn developed a deep and lifelong hatred for the ruling class. She saw that behind its idealization of women as wives and mothers was a reality of abuse and degradation. She came to realize that this wasn't a personal

question; it was the attitude of a class—a ruling class that today must maintain the oppression of women to preserve its exploitation of the working class, from which it derives its wealth, its power, and its status.

I happened to be having dinner with Evelyn and her husband, George Novack, on the day the Chappaquidick story broke in 1969. Sen. Edward Kennedy was trying to explain, through all his prevarications, his role in the drowning of his secretary, Mary Jo Kopechne. Evelyn had some rather graphic and colorful things to say about Kennedy and Company—because she knew the truth of all the Chappaquidicks.

She knew how the ruling class imposes its own perverted and corrupted values on society and then piously lectures and condemns others.

How she loved to see that hypocrisy exposed! She loved to see someone like Kennedy caught in his own bind and squirming to get out.

But Evelyn also had a deepgoing sympathy with the Mary Jo Kopechnes of the world—the victims of this capitalist system, and especially the female victims of class and sex oppression. She identified with them to the depths of her soul.

But while she understood human weaknesses—nothing human was alien to Evelyn—her own reaction was always to fight back, not to give in.

In recent years, many friends and comrades, especially women, went to Evelyn

with their personal problems and tribulations. She was always attentive and concerned. She would spend hours discussing with them. She would often seek out friends, especially young women, who she knew were having some problems, and try to help.

A Fighter

But Evelyn would never give an inch to sentimentality, self-pity, self-indulgence, or soul-searching. She would just say: Be honest! Look yourself in the face! And fight!

She would say: We've all got problems. We all have difficulties. But there's only one answer that makes sense. There's only one perspective that will help. There are no isolated individual or personal solutions. That's why I'm in the Socialist Workers Party. That's why you should be in the Socialist Workers Party. Because it's only if you're a Marxist, and are striving to build a working-class party to change this world, that you can rise above what society does to each of us.

That kind of determination and perspective marked Evelyn throughout the second half of her life.

James T. Farrell spoke of how Evelyn faced her own death with courage. That was true. She was able to be a materialist about that, too. But she also faced it with a sense of humor and self-consciousness.

On one of the occasions that I visited her in recent months, she joked with me, saying, "You know, this cancer is just *not* my kind of disease." She was right. It sapped her strength and vitality and prevented her from working. It was one of the few things in her life she felt she could not fight.

And she didn't like that.

Seriousness and Self-discipline

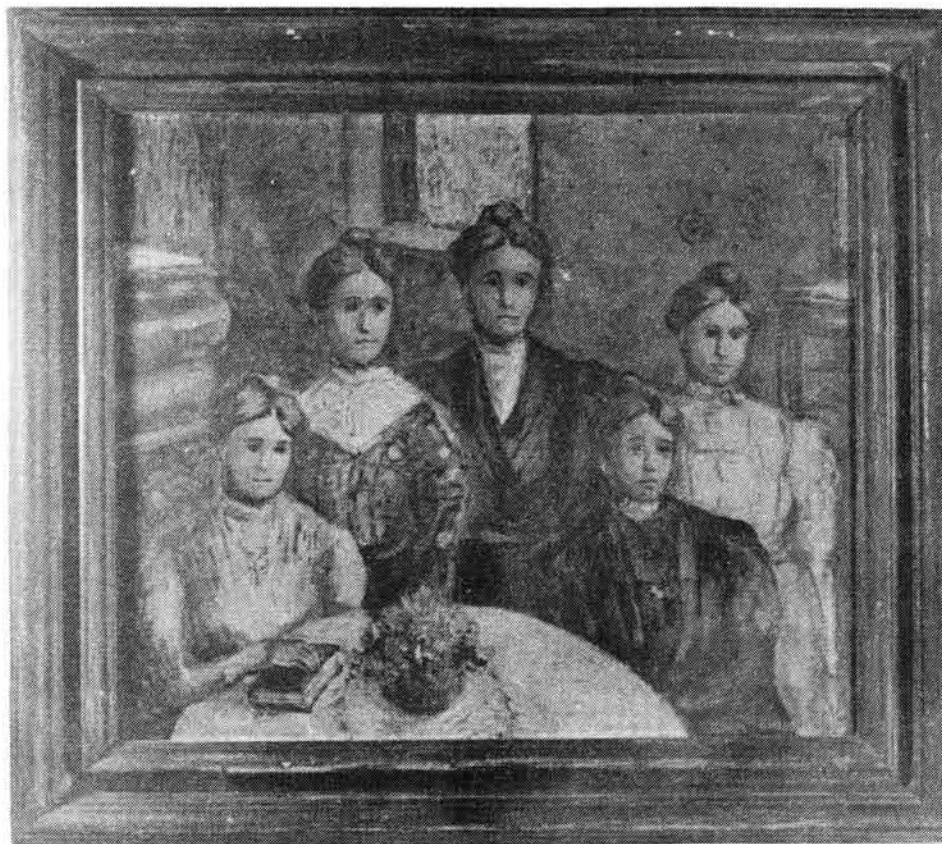
In everything Evelyn did, she exhibited seriousness and self-discipline. She was efficient. She was well-organized. She wasted no time or motion.

I used to watch with admiration as she would cook and put dinner on the table for three or four people, all the while carrying on a lively political conversation. And all without putting down her glass or missing a line in the discussion.

That was typical of Evelyn. She was extremely practical. She was an excellent typist, for example. She had no illusion that if she refused to learn how to type, somehow she could escape from "female" jobs. She knew she'd better learn to type and type well if she wanted to earn a living. So she did.

She also used to sew. She made and altered a lot of her own clothes. She would just do it in passing, among all the other things that she did.

It was with the same seriousness and self-discipline that Evelyn approached painting in her early years. She gave it everything she had.



In Iowa Evelyn Reed painted the five sisters of her husband.

Very few comrades have seen Evelyn's paintings, because when she decided to become a serious revolutionist she gave up painting. She decided that she couldn't have two vocations, and she didn't want to dabble in either.

Evelyn thought that being a Bolshevik would give her the greatest satisfaction. From that time forward, she turned her creative abilities to building the revolutionary party.

Evelyn wasn't a writer before she joined the Socialist Workers Party. She learned to write by working on the *Militant* staff. She learned to write in a clear, well-organized, pedagogical style that was a joy to read.

As a Painter

Before going on to Evelyn's accomplishments in the socialist movement, however, I just want to mention one more thing about her paintings. Several that I've seen show a real craft and talent—especially Evelyn's portraits of women.

Evelyn did paint other subjects, of course. For example, she once did a portrait of Trotsky, which she didn't think had much insight. She did it rapidly, and she wasn't happy with it.

But it is her portraits of women that are the most interesting. They are remarkable for the feelings that come through in them, the fierce resentment in the faces of women, their suppressed rebellion—all the things Evelyn was to write about and express in other ways in the years to come.

Evelyn's portrait of Natalia Sedova is one of her finest. Joe Hansen, who was not given to light compliments, said that if you study that portrait you understand what kind of woman Natalia was.

Beyond the Prehistory

But all this before 1940 is what can be called the prehistory of Evelyn Reed. She would be the first to explain that unless you understand your prehistory, history itself is unintelligible.

Like the prehistory of humanity, this period in Evelyn's life came to an impasse in which there was no way forward without a whole new framework.

When she was a little over thirty-five years old, Evelyn came in contact with the Trotskyist movement. That was in New York. Shortly after that, she went to Mexico with a companion, Walter O'Rourke, who was in the Socialist Workers Party and had been assigned as a guard to Trotsky's household at Coyoacán. Evelyn went along to paint. She set up a studio in Mexico City. She had a car and began helping out around the Trotsky household.

Comrades in the SWP remember hearing about this bohemian woman artist down there who seemed to be very helpful.

Joining the SWP

Evelyn occasionally explained to me how she came to join the party. She was at the Trotsky house one day. Joe Hansen

came out to the courtyard to talk to her. He said he had just been with Trotsky and that Trotsky had asked why Evelyn wasn't in the Socialist Workers Party.

Joe said he didn't know. Trotsky suggested that he find out. So Joe came down and asked.

Evelyn responded that she didn't think a working-class party would want "bourgeois" women like her. Joe explained—very pedagogically, I'm sure—how false that was. So Evelyn said: Fine, I want to join.

Trotsky came down later, embraced her Russian-style with a big kiss on both cheeks, and commented: "Lots of different types of people join our movement. Some don't turn out so well, others do. I have the feeling you'll be one of those who turns out well."

He was right.

Marxist Perspective

While Evelyn didn't come to Marxism through feminism, she—like many of us—realized in retrospect that she'd been a feminist all her life. She just didn't think of it that way until the women's liberation movement came along.

Evelyn became a Marxist because she understood that only the working class has the capacity and the self-interest—the class interest—to replace the rapacious ruling class and open the door to move all humanity forward. She also knew that could happen only if the working class itself was consciously led by a revolutionary workers party.

Evelyn never wavered in that understanding. She never budged from that class perspective in anything she did, including the struggle for women's liberation.

Over the past decade, Evelyn became an internationally known figure. She was recognized for her contributions to the study of the origins of human society—how animals became human, how humanity made itself; how we got from the communal, egalitarian prehistory of humanity to the class-divided and sex-stratified society of the past 6,000 years; how we're going to move forward to socialism.

Evelyn took the most advanced scientific method available and applied it, searching for facts, directly and indirectly verifiable, about the origins of human society.

She didn't start with any preconceptions about women's role in this process. She started with some unanswered questions, with some doubts about answers that had been given so far. Evelyn's curiosity became an important force in this process.

The answers she came up with were solidly based on years of research and documentation.

'Woman's Evolution'

Evelyn was a little afraid of the possible reaction to her conclusions. As a material-

ist, she knew that the acceptance of correct ideas has its time, too. She had lived through the years of McCarthyite reaction, the isolation of women during those years, the isolation of the socialist movement. While she had a valuable collaborator in her companion and comrade, George Novack—someone with whom she could discuss the research she was doing and the ideas she was formulating—still she was working on her own.

So, when she finished the long-awaited manuscript—I think it was early in 1974—she was a little nervous. What are its flaws? Is it time? Is it ready to be published?

She gave me the manuscript of *Woman's Evolution* to read on vacation, and I remember my reaction when I finished. A tremendous vista had been opened up. Evelyn had provided thoughtful and generally convincing answers to some of the most complex and difficult questions about humanity's origins.

Because of her few trepidations, we had to convince Evelyn not to pull her punches on a question or two when it came time for the finishing touches.

There was one thing she did refuse to include, though. Those of you who have read *Woman's Evolution* know that the final chapters analyze several of the most famous Greek tragedies. Evelyn explains how the conflict and turbulence that accompanied the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy left an indelible imprint in Greek mythology.

I tried to talk her into doing a parallel chapter on the Hebrew Bible, on the Old Testament, and early Christian practice. By the time you get to the end of the book, there are some obvious things to be said about the origins of various food proscriptions, communion, the meaning of some of the Biblical tales.

Evelyn is sometimes referred to as a feminist anthropologist. I think that's wrong. "Feminist" isn't an adjective that properly modifies the word "anthropologist."

Evolutionist & Anthropologist

Evelyn was an anthropologist who applied the scientific method of dialectical materialism. She was an evolutionist. Change is uneven, novel, and contradictory. Combinations occur. Chance and causality intermingle. But change occurs according to understandable laws. Stages of evolution are discernible. To understand history, the social scientist must proceed as any other scientist, by searching for and establishing the laws that govern social evolution.

As Evelyn researched and analyzed her material, she came to realize the true scope of women's hidden prehistory—the role that those creatures she affectionately dubs the "feminids" played in humanizing and socializing—in creating us all. She understood what a powerful weapon the

truth about our own prehistory could be in women's hands. What a weapon it would be for all communists. So she was determined to make this knowledge available. She was determined to give women self-confidence, to prove that female biology is not a handicap. She wanted to give women pride in our history, strength, and the courage to fight.

Evelyn approached all this with the highest standards of intellectual honesty and truth. One example of this was contained in a letter a leader of the party from the Midwest sent me about some of her recollections of Evelyn. She recalled a discussion in which a comrade had objected to Evelyn that *Woman's Evolution* had not discussed the role of lesbianism among primitive communist women.

Evelyn sat down with the comrade and very carefully explained that after twenty-five years of research, she had no evidence that lesbianism existed in primitive communist society. Certainly not as it's known today.

Evelyn hoped someday to write a book on sexuality—how it is social and psychological as well as biological; how it evolves and changes like everything else. She wanted to explain how unscientific it is to project forward or backward the forms and expressions of sexuality we know today.

She always insisted, if you're serious about history, you don't begin by making it up. All prejudices assume some eternal order of institutions and values. But that is simply religious cant. Our obligation is to tell the truth about society and history. Because it's the truth that will set us free—if we fight for it.

Marxist and Feminist

Evelyn's feminism—her understanding of women's oppression, and her determination to fight for women's liberation—was so profound that she never felt any need for superficial or phony demonstrations of her convictions.

She was totally secure in her feminism and her Marxism. She understood that the two were totally inseparable.

Evelyn had no difficulty with the fact that the pioneering insights into the origins of human society and women's oppression were made by men—Marx, Engels, Morgan—who developed the method that enabled us to understand and move forward. Few things made Evelyn angrier than the dismissal of these scientific insights, or the charge that Marx and Engels could not be true proponents of women's emancipation, because they were men, or because they fell short of standards of language and conduct we would apply today. Any woman who got hung up on that kind of ahistorical and unscientific approach, Evelyn believed, was never going to make a serious contribution to the struggle for women's liberation.

Evelyn understood that you couldn't label Engels as a Marxist anthropologist

while labeling her a feminist anthropologist. *Both* were Marxists. *Both* were materialists. *Both* applied their common method to understanding the prehistory of humanity. *Both*, under different historical conditions, were in the forefront of the fight for women's emancipation.

Evelyn didn't see *Woman's Evolution* as a crowning achievement after which she could comfortably sit back and get old. She saw it as the beginning of a fight—a fight she had eagerly awaited for years.

She knew that over time some of her hypotheses and interpretations would be proven wrong, that others would be confirmed. What she had done was to put the ball in the court of the anti-evolutionists and antimaterialists. Now *they* would have to come up with some answers.

Evelyn loved nothing better than the polemics and debates over the ideas contained in *Woman's Evolution* and her other works.

But it would also be correct to say she had one weakness in this regard.

There was one element of a lack of self-confidence that she never totally overcame: She cared a little bit what various academic anthropologists thought about the seriousness of her work. Not what they thought about the content of her works—she had nothing but contempt for their falsification of history. But she did want to be recognized as a serious professional, of high standards.

We used to kid her about this. Did she believe Engels would have cared what a Lévi-Strauss thought about the quality of his work? Of course not. And Evelyn would laugh, because she knew it was true.

Tireless Party Builder

Most of us knew Evelyn primarily through her contributions to the struggle for women's liberation and her education of the party on this question. In the past decade she rarely wrote on other subjects.

But for nearly forty years, Evelyn was a tireless activist and builder of the Socialist Workers Party in every and any capacity. In the Civil Rights Defense Committee, defending the victims of the Smith gag act during World War II; writing and producing the *Militant*; selling the paper. She rarely missed a branch meeting. She loved nothing better than demonstrations and rallies, whatever the issue might be. And she gave every penny of her personal wealth to finance the party's needs.

Evelyn got her greatest satisfaction precisely from giving her energies, her talents, and her endless enthusiasm to building the party of the socialist revolution in the United States and internationally. Even if the women's movement hadn't come along to give her that extra boost, Evelyn would have felt she had done the only worthwhile thing with her life.

Evelyn did not carry the particular kind of responsibility a central political leader of the party has to. She did not have the

same complex political responsibilities in the day-to-day national leadership as people such as Jim Cannon or Farrell Dobbs.

But Evelyn was a leader of the Socialist Workers Party nonetheless. She was part of that political machine that is the collective strength, the heart and soul of the Socialist Workers Party.

There was never any egotism toward the party. The last thing on Evelyn's mind was "my role" or "my development" or "my recognition." She didn't think of herself first. She thought of building the party. What she could do. How she could use her strengths for whatever the party needed at that particular moment.

The party recognized her contribution and elected Evelyn to the party's National Committee for nearly sixteen years.

Workers' Radicalization

One of the things that made Evelyn the happiest in her final months was the deepening radicalization in the American working class and the party's progress in getting the majority of comrades into industry to take advantage of these political openings. She looked forward to establishing new contacts with working-class women who would be coming into the party.

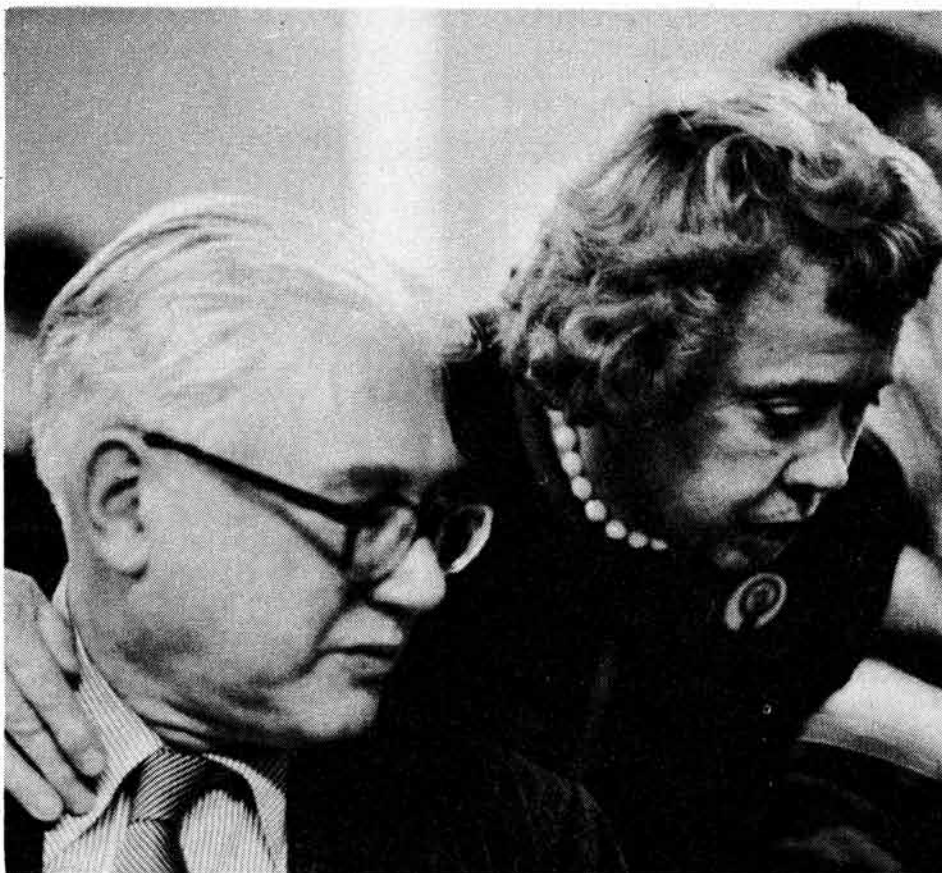
She would talk to comrades for hours about the changes in attitudes that were taking place among the young men and women on the assembly lines and in the factories where we are working—what questions they had, what they were interested in, what they wanted to know. She was fascinated and delighted by the new experiences comrades are beginning to have, by the new battles looming.

But Evelyn was a materialist about the Socialist Workers Party, as about everything else. She knew it wasn't perfect. She knew that no party can escape the social contradictions and conditions in which it is built, or the limits of the human material produced by capitalism. She thought the idea that we are prototypes of socialist man and woman was one of the most laughable things she had ever heard.

Evelyn knew that attitudes inside the party could not be decades ahead of society in general. At the same time, she was convinced from her own experiences in the SWP, and in the rest of the world movement, that the attitude toward women in the Socialist Workers Party is unique among revolutionary organizations. Anyone who light-mindedly made a remark in Evelyn's presence about sexism in the party would get a not-so-light-minded response.

Women in the SWP

Evelyn never felt she was discriminated against or taken unseriously in the party because she was a woman. Her only negative experiences in the revolutionary movement were in the Fourth International in the 1950s. She and George had been asked



With her longtime companion and comrade, George Novack, in Los Angeles during a 1975 speaking tour.

by the SWP to live in Europe for a period of time to participate in the work of the Fourth International. There, Evelyn said, she did feel that she was generally dismissed as a female appendage of George, something that had never happened to her in the movement before.

In the interview with the two French feminists I referred to earlier, Evelyn was asked: "How do you think the women's liberation movement has changed the men around you?"

Evelyn responded: "I'm going to tell you something. Here in the Socialist Workers Party the men are miles ahead of those in other revolutionary groups. They're conscious of the problem of male supremacy. They're conscious of the importance of the women's movement—how it was able to burst forth and why it is developing. Their immediate support for the movement comes from their political integrity. They are real revolutionaries. It's something that future historians are going to have to give some thought to explaining. It's one of those bonuses of history."

She went on, "I'll never forget a young woman in New Zealand who told me she didn't like political parties because of their attitudes toward women. And I told her: 'Maybe that's true in most cases, but it's false as far as the Socialist Workers Party is concerned.'"

The New Zealand feminist had responded, "You mean that the Socialist Workers Party is different from all other parties?"

"Yes, that's exactly correct," Evelyn had shot back. "It's different and that's why I'm a member."

Her French interviewers then asked her, "Was the Socialist Workers Party always like that? Was it already like that when you joined?"

Evelyn responded with a short lesson on the need to develop historical perspective. "When I joined? Let's see, that was thirty-five years ago. We were a tiny party. It's really difficult to say. The women's movement didn't exist. We were persecuted by the capitalists and the Stalinists at the same time. You can't foresee the solution to a problem that doesn't yet exist, can you?"

"If you ask me," continued Evelyn, "was the consciousness about the problems of women the same as today, I would reply, no. Because the women's liberation movement itself brought that consciousness forward. That was its birth. A baby must be born before you can express an opinion about it. But it was born. And it's a beautiful child that is filling the air with its cries!"

One thing that made Evelyn very angry was any attempt by men or women to use the "woman question" to push themselves

into undeserved leadership positions or to attack the party. She wanted nothing to do with those kinds of phonies whose actions and attitudes actually degraded women and produced obstacles to the development of women as revolutionary leaders.

Internationalism

Evelyn's experiences in the Fourth International gave her a passionate interest in the development of the international women's liberation movement and developments within the Fourth International. She considered the discussion now taking place around the draft international women's liberation resolution for the next world congress of the Fourth International to be a tremendous step forward for the entire world Trotskyist movement.

Evelyn knew there was controversy around that resolution, especially around the section on the origins of women's oppression. She thought what the document said was correct, although she herself would have said a lot more. She looked forward to the discussion and debate beginning to open up around it.

Evelyn had the self-discipline, self-confidence, and conviction born of experience, study, and a thorough grounding in the classics of Marxism.

While her work is finished, ours is not. Our challenge is to build on Evelyn's contributions and go forward. To train new generations to develop their knowledge and capacity, and take that work further.

No one understood better than Evelyn how difficult it is, especially for women, to develop this kind of Marxist training and self-confidence. But she knew that the party's ability to develop political leaders who were women would be crucial for the coming American revolution. She understood the importance of the party collectively organizing to reduce the barriers women face. That's why the best possible tribute to Evelyn is the launching today of the Evelyn Reed Scholarship Fund. It is a first step towards drawing together the resources to establish a party leadership school that will enable other comrades to take time off to study, to learn, and to develop a thorough grounding in Marxism.

When Fidel Castro gave his 1967 speech in tribute to Che Guevara, in Havana's Plaza de la Revolución, he said of Che: "The master may die, especially when he is a virtuoso in an art as dangerous as revolutionary struggle. But what will surely never die is the art to which he dedicated his life, the art to which he dedicated his intelligence."

Evelyn gave everything she had to the struggle for the future of humanity. She's gone, but the art, the science, and the revolutionary struggle to which she dedicated her activity and her intelligence lives on, enriched by her life. All we can promise is to do our best to live up to the example she set for all of us. □

Stakes in the June European Parliament Elections

By Anna Libera

The campaign for the June 1979 elections to the European parliament, which was launched with a propaganda barrage several months ago, has begun to falter as the political and social crisis has increased in a number of countries.

While the June date still holds, the problems throw a naked light on the contradictions facing the European bourgeoisies in their plans for centralization and integration across the continent. In fact these plans require that the social, political, and economic situations in different countries be brought into line with each other, and is designed to step up this process.

In their respective countries the bourgeoisies are faced with crises that are, for the time being, driving them toward a closing of their ranks, which are divided on the question of Europe, in order to meet the working class head-on.

But we should not forget that the bourgeoisie's attempts to housebreak the working class in each country, and its plans to set up a European parliament in order to spread this process evenly throughout the European Community, go hand in hand.

This means that the working-class response to the austerity plans in each country and to the centralization of attacks on the working class on a European scale, must also go hand in hand. The need for an international response is becoming increasingly clear to the workers, as the situation in the steel industry today shows.

That is why it is necessary to gain a grasp of the plans the European bourgeoisie has in mind in order to counterpose to them a working-class, internationalist response and not lead the workers into the blind alleys of administering the crisis and of chauvinism.

A Plan Incribed on the EEC's Birth Certificate

The establishment of supranational European institutions is the logical consequence of the Europe-wide concentration of capital, of the creation of European multinationals. Under the capitalist system, the state's field of activity must be in keeping with the scope of the productive forces and the relations of production. Thus the internationalization and concentration of capital within the EEC is increasingly running up against the powers retained by the member states and the absence of supranational institutions.

The founding of the EEC was itself a response by European big business to the contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the restraints of the national states. To face up to American and Japanese competition, the European industrialists had to unite, had to derive benefits from an increasingly coordinated economic policy (raw materials, infrastructure). This is what led to signing the Treaty of Rome that established the Common Market.

But because of the decisive role of the state (monetary, fiscal, and credit policies; infrastructure; social policy), these big European corporations need to rely on supranational institutions with governmental powers that can carry out a centralized policy on their behalf.

When European interpenetration and centralization of capital reaches a certain level, the pressure for a supranational state becomes irresistible.

Since 1969 the most advanced sectors of European capital have been arguing in favor of more extensive economic and political integration. Agnelli, the owner of FIAT, told the Italian parliament's Standing Committee on Industry on February 20, 1969: "If we want to have planning in the automobile industry, we'll have to get down to brass tacks at the supranational level."

In the same period Raymond Barre, then vice-president of the EEC Commission, spoke in a similar vein:

The Common Market of capital is lagging behind the Common Market of goods because the Treaty of Rome is ambiguous on this point and also because of the attitude of the member states who fear that capital mobility will compromise the attainment of their national objectives.

Also in the same period Giscard d'Estaing, who was then minister of finance, favored the creation of a European currency.

Although this was the historic tendency, in a period of growth it was not necessary to go beyond measures to further exports and guarantee profits. The full scope of the crisis of the EEC was only seen when the great world economic recession of 1974-75 broke out. There was no supranational state able to carry out the anticrisis policies needed by the giant European corporations, which had to face up to competition from American trusts that had a powerful state at their disposal.

In this situation, in the absence of a supranational state, each bourgeoisie began to concern itself with its own economy

(see for example Italy's demand for a waiver of the EEC's economic accords at the time of the severe crisis of the lira). In addition, the capitalists looked to their own national states to confront the deep social crisis that was developing.

At that point there was a possibility that the EEC might break up under the pressure of the tendency for each member state to adopt protectionist measures in order to arrest competition from the other economies. This confirms what Ernest Mandel wrote in 1968:

The EEC's moment of truth will arrive when Europe undergoes a general recession. This will be the decisive test of the Common Market (*Europe Vs. America: Contradictions of Imperialism*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970, p. 117).

In 1977 the most clear-sighted representatives of the long-term interests of European big business (Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt and Giscard d'Estaing) began to react to the threatened break-up of the EEC. After initially explaining the crisis as the temporary consequence of the rise in the cost of oil, the bourgeoisie then settled in for what it projected as a crisis of long duration and had to polish up its tools for making the workers bear the costs.

At the time of their February 4, 1977 "summit," Giscard and Schmidt stated their willingness to be the motor forces of the European upturn. Their joint declaration explained:

The government of West Germany and the government of France hope that in 1978 the EEC will again be able to begin moving toward monetary and economic union, which is a necessary step on the road to the European Union. They hope that the recovery policies [meaning austerity policies!] undertaken by the various member states will contribute to this.

Schmidt concluded by saying:

We believe that the economic policy put into practice in Germany during the world economic crisis, as well as the economic policy carried out in France under the designation of the 'Barre plan' will lead to good results in 1977. Paris and Bonn would like to strengthen this development, not only through consultation, but also through coordination, obviously within the framework of decisions and options made on a European scale. We expect to be able to convince our partners to take part in a much closer convergence of economic policies (*Le Monde*, February 6-7, 1977).

Thus the objective is clear: to coordinate the anti-working-class austerity policies put forward by the governments of the member countries of the EEC and to use

the crisis for a new expansion of European capitalism.

The European bourgeoisie is now trying to carry out three joint measures that serve these aims. The three measures are the creation of the European Monetary Union, the election of the European parliament, and the enlargement of the EEC.

The Tortuous Path of the European Monetary System

The creation of the European Monetary System corresponds to several concerns of the European capitalists:

- To not be at the mercy of fluctuations of the dollar.
- To remove impediments to the movement of European capital.
- To coordinate antirecessionary policies (credit, etc.).
- To create a common reserve fund so that (strong) countries could apply pressure regarding the social, economic, and political decisions of governments that face a powerful workers movement (in the tradition of the International Monetary Fund's role in recent years in countries such as Peru, Italy, Britain).

As the British weekly *Economist* bluntly put it, the EMS should be supported:

Because it sets up a framework for coordination and even discipline of fiscal, monetary and exchange policy, which could benefit Europe as the IMF has benefited the world. Because it presses governments who at present do not conduct their economic policies helpfully to do so: and even partial success here would be success indeed (October 21-27, 1978, p. 15).

The EMS would be the corollary and guide for national austerity policies. Thus, for example, the EEC's Committee on Economy Policy admits that the poor countries joining the EMS would have difficulties since they would have to place greater priority on their balance of payments and less on other objectives such as growth and jobs. Furthermore, by fixing the exchange rates, the EMS would reduce the number of political weapons governments have at their disposal to try to deal with an economic crisis.

The main obstacle on the road to establishing the European Monetary System rests in the disparity between the different national currencies, different economies, and different social and trade-union situations in the various countries. The article we have already cited from the *Economist* makes this point very clearly:

If any government believes that the present art of economic convergence could bear all the burden of making EMS stick, the negotiators might as well stop wasting their time. Not only the different policies but the different trade unions, expectations, whathaveyous of the Nine make it impossible that a set of exchange rates between them should hold for as much as a year.

And it is precisely these existing differences that are now blocking establishment of the EMS, which the bourgeoisie wanted

to see established before the beginning of the new recession. The reactions of different governments on this question clearly illustrate this fact.

Britain refused to join the EMS from the word go last November, feeling that there was too great a disparity between the different inflation rates. But Callaghan refused to join also and especially because of the political and social difficulties he was facing owing to the rejection of his incomes policy by the British workers and trade unions and by his own party.

There is already a big crisis in the Labour Party as a result of Callaghan's refusal to follow the decision of the party conference regarding the "5 percent,"¹ and he does not want to feed it by deciding to join the EMS when there is a strong anti-EEC lobby in the Labour Party. It should be noted, however, that Callaghan took care not to launch a crusade against the EMS.

On the other hand, the Italian government—which was then made up entirely of Christian Democrats ruling through the support of a majority that included the Italian CP and SP—decided to join the EMS at an inopportune moment, despite the opposition of the Communists, who were the government's main support.

The Italian bourgeoisie's objective was simple: to use this European "agreement" to impose an austerity policy on Italy that is less and less acceptable to the workers. The decision to join the EMS was one of the main factors that determined the Italian CP's decision to withdraw from the parliamentary majority and, as a result, to bring down the Andreotti government. Italy's entry into the EMS means nothing, in the immediate sense at any rate, when it is under a caretaker government: the unknown elements in the social and political situation are occupying center stage for the bourgeoisie of the Italian peninsula.

The French government's attitude is even more revealing and significant. At a time when Giscard was appearing with Schmidt as the champion of a European currency, France's chairmanship of the EEC—which began in January—has been marked by a stalemate of discussions and progress in regard to the EMS, the EEC's 1979 budget, and common agricultural prices, to name just a few.

This obstruction reflects the domestic concerns of the representatives of the French government.

In fact, Paris would very much like to put off the start of the EMS until after June because of the poor state of the economy and of French exports, and be-

1. Last October, after the TUC conference, the Labour Party conference rejected the government's policy of limiting raises to 5 percent annually. Callaghan decided to override this decision. But the strike wave that later swept Britain went beyond those limits anyway.

cause of the massive workers upsurge in the North and Lorraine regions, as well as in a number of other sectors.

The other problem for the French government is the question of agricultural prices and the notorious "compensatory amounts."² France would like to see the dismantling of this old system, which favors German agricultural producers and breeds discontent among French growers, before the EMS is set up and begins laying the basis for future compensatory agreements. Once the EMS is set up, so as not to lower German agricultural prices, it would be necessary to raise European agricultural prices by 10 percent. It goes without saying that the other countries do not agree and that, in this situation, the German growers—who are the electoral base of the Liberal Party, Schmidt's coalition partner—want to maintain their current edge.

Thus it is a difficult situation. Witness the embarrassment shown by Giscard d'Estaing at his last news conference:

The launching of this system [the EMS] has not taken place due to a problem of a different kind, the existence of what are called compensatory monetary amounts. This problem is distinct from that of the monetary system, but it also

2. When the common agricultural policy was set up in 1962 it was decided that agricultural prices would be the same in all six countries that then made up the Common Market. These prices were calculated in a fictitious currency that reflected the relationship of each currency to all the others. In 1969 France devalued its currency by 16%. This made its agricultural produce 16% cheaper than that of the other countries. Under the rules it should have raised its domestic farm prices to bring them back up to the level of the rest of the Common Market. But France did not want to raise its domestic prices; in fact it froze its prices at the level that existed before the devaluation—meaning they were 16% cheaper than in the rest of the EEC. This meant that it had to "compensate" its partners. French agricultural exports are taxed a "monetary compensatory amount" equal to the amount the franc was devalued with respect to the currency of the importing country.

The opposite situation can, and does, occur as well. When the mark was revalued in 1969 and 1971, the mark value of agricultural support prices in Germany should have fallen to keep the German prices in line with those of the rest of Europe. But German farmers resisted. As a result, German farm exports had to be subsidized: these are "positive compensatory amounts." The same thing happened in Holland when the florin followed the mark upward.

As a result of these upward and downward currency fluctuations, the fixed agricultural prices within the Common Market are a fiction. Farmers in weak currency countries are getting less than farmers in strong currency countries, and the differences are made up in the trade between countries through positive or negative compensatory monetary amounts.

The establishment of the EMS, which is supposed to stabilize the currency variations, will require new compensatory monetary amounts, but they are projected to be stable and smaller than the present ones.

calls for a solution. . . . We are in favor of launching this European Monetary System as soon as the existing difficulties regarding the compensatory monetary amounts can be overcome. (*Le Monde*, February 17, 1979).

This will not happen tomorrow!

The final element is the French government's reservations about the EEC's 1979 budget. France continues to reject the decision by the European parliament to double the credits allocated to the European regional development fund.

This decision would in fact amount to an admission that the European parliament has extensive powers, while the Giscardians are under heavy fire from their Gaullist allies, who are denouncing the widening of these powers and the abandonment of "national sovereignty."

This is the political side of the problems facing Giscard in the achievement of his policy decisions on Europe. They are dividing the French bourgeoisie down the middle at a time when it needs to be more united than ever in the face of the rising working-class anger.

Thus in his recent press conference Giscard, who had himself opened the European election campaign several months before, expressed the wish to see it downplayed:

First of all it is much too early to begin [the campaign]. There is a contradiction between the things that concern French public opinion, which are basically economic and social at the present time, and an early start in the campaign for the European elections. The statutes project campaigns lasting from two weeks to one month. Therefore there is no need to begin them several months in advance. Thus, I hope that the nation will concentrate on its economic and social problems, and that it will wait to have its debate, at the proper time, not on the question of Europe, but rather on French representation within the European Assembly (*Le Monde*, February 17, 1979).

This is a very defensive way of approaching the issues. In other words, Giscard is calling on the French bourgeoisie to close ranks in face of the workers and, instead of speaking of the "great idea of Europe" that seemed so dear to him, he no longer envisions anything but petty haggling over the French delegation to the Strasbourg parliament!

The reactions of these different governments amply show the difficulties the European bourgeoisie is encountering in achieving its plans. The establishment of the European parliament would make it possible to move ahead with these plans (which go beyond the parliament itself), but achieving them rests essentially on bringing the political and social situations in the different countries into line with one another, a goal that is still a long way off.

The Election of a European Parliament

The election of this parliament by universal suffrage would legitimize the whole operation in the eyes of the peoples of

Europe, particularly the reformist leaderships of the working class.

In this sense we could call it an institutional yoke on the European workers and their organizations. The different bourgeoisies also hope to be able to use the parliament to reduce the political strength of the workers organizations in each country.

For example, Agnelli explained to *France Soir* on July 10, 1976, just after the



Schmidt: A clear-sighted representative of European big-business interests.

Italian CP's strong electoral showing, which was to lead to its inclusion in the Italian parliamentary majority:

In an integrated Europe, the problem posed by a strong Communist presence in Italy and France would be partially diluted. The Communists would thus have the time needed to fully carry out their turn toward democracy (if they are capable of doing so) and we would have time to verify the sincerity of their respect for pluralism—not only political but also economic pluralism—and for the ties that unite us here in the West, which we do not wish to renounce.

The difficulties and setbacks encountered on the road to the realization of this project by the European bourgeoisies does not, however, mean that they are going to give it up.

The Question of Enlarging the EEC

The perspective of the entry of Greece, Portugal, and Spain into the EEC falls within the same framework. For the bourgeoisies of these countries, the economic problems facing them puts their entry into capitalist Europe on the agenda.

In certain sectors of the bourgeoisie in the other EEC countries there is considerable hesitation regarding their entry. But, for the European bourgeoisie, four factors argue in favor of including them.

- The advantages accruing from the

establishment of a market encompassing one-fourth of the world market.

- The interest of the big European agribusiness trusts in monopolizing the agricultural raw-materials market in these Mediterranean countries and opening the road to the markets of the third world in this area.

- The interest of the big corporations in moving their production facilities to countries with cheap labor costs.

- The need to politically support weak regimes confronted by a deepgoing social crisis.

For all these reasons, which are stronger than those causing the hesitation, the motion is toward an integration of the three candidate countries—which may still, of course, encounter setbacks under special long-term provisions (especially aimed at stopping the free circulation of workers from these countries of high unemployment).

The entry of these countries into the Common Market, which is supported and desired by the workers parties of the three countries, will have immediate negative consequences for the Spanish, Portuguese, and Greek workers.

The Brussels Commission clearly explains what these consequences will be when it writes:

A very marked growth in productivity in the candidate countries requires a restructuring in the form of a substantial reduction in the number of jobs . . . similar productivity gains in agriculture can only be achieved by increasing unemployment and emigration. For this reason the problem of jobs may well become central during the first years of the enlargement.

The entry of these countries into the Common Market will strengthen the dominant sectors of native capitalism and thus their ability to exploit the workers.

These reasons suffice to explain why the workers of these countries should reject entry into capitalist Europe. However, they should not reject it for the reasons put forward by the French CP, which is opposed to enlargement—these can only lead to counterposing French workers to those of the three countries, especially Spain.

While the policy of the European bourgeoisie leads to an immediate division between the workers of the different countries (by stimulating unemployment and therefore competition within the working class for jobs), this cannot be dealt with by falling back on defense of "French jobs" that might be coveted by the "foreigner." For this reason, the entry of Spain, Greece, and Portugal into the EEC can only be opposed in the name of centralizing the struggles of workers in these countries and in the countries of the "Nine" against austerity. This should begin with a joint campaign for the reduction of the work-week and culminate in the battle for democratic planning of the European economy, which means the overturning of capitalism. □